The University of Chicago

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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EDWIN R. THIELE

I. THE PROBLEMS OF OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY is the backbone of history. Absolute chronology is the fixed central core around which the events of nations must be correctly grouped before they may assume their exact positions in history and before their mutual relationships may be properly understood. Without exact chronology there can be no exact history. Until a correct chronology of a nation has been established, the events of that nation cannot be correctly integrated into the events of neighboring states. If history is to be a true and exact science, then it is of fundamental importance to construct a sound chronological framework about which may be fitted the various events of antiquity.

The most imperative need in the study of Old Testament history today is the construction of a sound chronology. In spite of almost endless research and discussion, biblical chronology remains in a state of almost hopeless confusion. Nearly every student has his own particular chronological scheme. Upon only one point is there anything like unanimity of opinion, and that is a frank admission of the difficulties and intricacies of the problems involved and of the uncertainties and inadequacies of established chronological schemes.

Because of the many difficulties encountered in the endeavor to integrate Hebrew chronological materials into those of neighboring states, there has arisen a general impression that biblical chronology is something separate and apart from secular chronology and that these two are at hopeless variance one with the other—that if the one is sound the other is fallacious. Many scholars who have come to regard the chronological materials of secular annals as having proved their essential accuracy view biblical chronology as a thing of dubious worth, while certain students of the Old Testament who place the main emphasis upon the historical veracity of the Hebrew scriptures have come to look askance upon "secular" chronology.

But just what is "biblical" chronology? Scores of mutually conflicting chronological schemes cannot all at one and the same time constitute the chronology of Old Testament times. The fact that there are in existence so many systems of ancient Hebrew chronology is evidence that we do not yet know very much about what biblical chronology actually is, and this fact constitutes a challenge to biblical scholarship to continue to put forth effort until some sort of order is brought out of the present chaos.

Basically there is, of course, only one chronology; that is correct chronology.

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Between the absolute chronology of the Hebrews and that of their neighbors there can be no conflict. If biblical chronology seems to be at variance with Assyrian chronology, it may be because of errors in the source materials, but it may also be because those materials are not correctly understood. If the chronological materials recorded in the Hebrew scriptures are sound, they will agree with whatever is sound in the annals of neighboring states. If a pattern of Hebrew chronology can be established from biblical sources which will agree with the chronological pattern of neighboring states as built upon the historical materials of those nations, then we may be certain that we are on the track of that correct and absolute chronology that has long been the goal of students of ancient history and we may also be certain that we are dealing with sources which are basically sound.

The present discussion will confine itself to a study of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah. It is this period that offers some of the greatest problems of biblical chronology, but it is also this period that should offer the best opportunities for success, for it is here that the largest amount of chronological material, both biblical and secular, is found.

One of the greatest perplexities concerning "biblical" chronology is that many of its details seem to be self-contradictory. First of all, difficulties are experienced in the totals of reigns. Figures from one fixed point in the history of Israel and Judah to another fixed point in their common history are not the same. For instance, the accession of Jeroboam of Israel and of Rehoboam of Judah at the time of the schism coincide. And Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah met their deaths simultaneously at the hands of Jehu. The totals of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah for these two periods should thus be the same, but actually, using the figures in the Book of Kings (MT), they are as follows:

ISRAEL		JUDAH	
Jeroboam I	22 years	Rehoboam	17 years
Nadab	2 years	Abijam	3 years
Baasha	24 years	Asa	41 years
Elah	2 years	Jehoshaphat	25 years
Zimri	7 days	Jehoram	8 years
Omri	12 years	Ahaziah	1 year
Ahab	22 years		
Ahaziah	2 years		
Jehoram	12 years		
Total	98 years, 7 days	Total	95 years

The deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah were followed by the accession during the same year of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah. According to II Kings 18:10, the fall of Samaria took place in the ninth year of Hoshea, which was the sixth year of Hezekiah. Thus the totals of reigns for these two periods should again agree, but actually they are as shown on the opposite page.

Thus in the first of these two periods which should be identical we have a total of 98 years and 7 days for Israel as against 95 years for Judah, while in the second there are 143 years and 7 months for Israel as against 166 years for Judah. But, compared with Assyrian figures, both of these last figures seem too high, for from 841 B.C., the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, when the latter reported having received tribute from Jehu—usually

conceded to be very early in Jehu's reign —to the accession of Sargon in 722/21, when the latter claimed to have captured Samaria, is only 120 years. Thus, compared with Assyrian figures, the total of the reigns of kings of Israel for this period seems to be about 23 years too high, while for Judah there seems to be an excess of about 46 years.

Furthermore, it is the endeavor to harmonize the synchronisms of the kings which presents the greatest single difficulty of Old Testament chronology. Almost every scholar who has seriously dealt with the problem has found instances where, in spite of his utmost efforts, he has discovered himself utterly baffled and has been forced to give up the problem in despair, with the conclusion that no harmony is possible.

ISRAEL	
Jehu	28 years
Jehoahaz	17 years
Jehoash	16 years
Jeroboam II	41 years
Zachariah	6 months
Shallum	1 month
Menahem	10 years
Pekahiah	2 years
Pekah	20 years
Hoshea	9 years
Total	143 years, 7 months

JUDAH	
Athaliah	7 years
Joash	40 years
Amaziah	29 years
Azariah	52 years
Jotham	16 years
Ahaz	16 years
Hezekiah	6 years
Total	166 years

Another difficulty constantly met by the student of ancient history is the seeming lack of harmony between the details of Old Testament chronology and the chronologies of neighboring states. The dates of Assyrian kings, for the period in which the most frequent contacts between Assyrian and Hebrew history occur, are quite definitely established. But frequently there seems to be a wide divergence between biblical and Assyrian datings for the same events. The divergencies appear to vary at different periods. Early in the kingdoms, chronologists usually notice a divergency of from 40 to 50 years, later of from 20 to 30 years, and with the reign of Hoshea and the fall of Samaria the two reckonings are made to coincide. But, with the reign of Hezekiah and the invasion of Sennacherib, there is again the baffling discrepancy of a full 13 years. It is particularly difficult to endeavor to synchronize the period of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah into the events of contemporary Assyrian history.

The problems of biblical chronology indicated above are not new. In the early Christian centuries biblical scholars were already perplexed over the chronological difficulties in the Book of Kings, and Jerome expressed himself as follows:

> Relege omnes et veteris et novi Testamenti libros, et tantam annorum reperies dissonantiam, et numerorum inter Judam et Israel, id est, inter regnum utrumque confusum, ut hujuscemodi haerere quaestionibus, non tam studiosi, quam otiosi hominis esse videatur.[1]

It is the opinion of some of the most careful modern students of Old Testament history that, in spite of certain accidental errors of transmission, and certain mistakes that may have occurred in working out the synchronisms, both the lengths of the reigns and the synchronisms are, in general, accurate and that

[1] Hieronymi, *Traditio catholica*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1864), Vol. I, Ep. 72, *Ad Vitalem; Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXII, col. 676.

the original data available to later scribes must have been sufficiently full and reliable to make possible the construction of a chronology which is neither fantastic nor artificial but basically sound.[2]

Another group of scholars, led by Ewald, Wellhausen, and Stade, holds the view that the chronology of the kings is essentially schematic and artificial, based on Hebrew predilection for the numbers 12 and 40, and multiples of the same, and that, consequently, the recorded data are worthless for the construction of any sound chronological scheme.[3]

Some there are who take the view that there has been "intentional mutilation of the text" and that certain "passages have been ruthlessly altered" in order to cover up various facts of history and to pass on to posterity not a true record of what actually took place but the type of picture that it was desired future generations should remember.[4]

If it is indeed true that the chronological data found in the Old Testament concerning the kings of Israel are fundamentally unsound, then it would be a hopeless task to endeavor to establish any exact chronology upon such a foundation. But are we as yet certain that these figures are basically unsound? The fact that up to the present this problem has not been solved is no evidence that it never will be solved or that the obstacle that has thus far prevented a solution is the unsoundness of the data involved. The difficulties in the system which have induced the opinion that the figures are not dependable really establish no more than that we have up to now found no way of harmonizing such a system with otherwise known facts. And does this not constitute a challenge to further investigation on the assumption that the real difficulty may be in our ignorance and not in the insolubility of the problem itself? Might it not be that the annalists and scribes who have passed these figures on to us were at least normally honest and competent men who were in possession of certain sound historical data which they endeavored to preserve to the best of their ability and that, in so doing, they were performing a service of great value to the historian of the future? If an interpretation of the given facts of this chronological system and of its difficulties can be found —an interpretation at once sufficiently simple and in harmony with our knowledge of the times as to carry some intrinsic reasonableness—should it not deserve our serious consideration and, in the nature of the case, carry high probability of its truth? And until we possess final and positive proof that the Old Testament chronological data are definitely false and unreliable, is it not the course of wisdom for us to give them the benefit of the doubt and to proceed on the assumption that there may be in these figures something of value which is not now fully realized, to endeavor to ascertain, if we can, just what lies back of these seemingly discordant figures, and thus, perchance, to open up avenues of knowledge now closed to us? It is on such a basis that we will endeavor to proceed.

In working out the chronology of any nation, a primary requisite is that the chronological procedure of that nation be understood. The following items must be

[2] See Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), pp. 393–95; Adolf Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige* (Bonn, 1883), pp. 5 ff.; Franz Rühl, "Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XII (1894–95), 44 ff.

[3] Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel* (London, 1876), I, 206 ff.; II, 20 ff., 297 ff.; Julius Wellhausen, "Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, XX (1875), 607–40; Bernhard Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Berlin, 1889), I, 88 ff., 558 ff.; W. Robertson Smith, "Kings," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.), Vol. XIV, and "The Chronology of the Books of Kings," *Journal of Philology*, X (1882), 209–13; Friedrich Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1878), pp. 263–64.

[4] Jules Oppert, "Chronology," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV (1903).

definitely known: (*a*) the time of the calendar year when a king began to count his reign; (*b*) the year when a king began to count his reign, whether from the time of his actual accession, from the following year, or from some other time; (*c*) how the years of the king of a neighboring state were reckoned, whether according to the system employed in his own nation or in that of the neighbor; (*d*) whether or not that nation made use of coregencies and whether interregna occurred; and, finally, (*e*) whether during the period under review a uniform system was followed or whether variations occurred.

An understanding of each of the above items is necessary to a correct reconstruction of the chronologies of Israel and Judah, but to obtain such an understanding is by no means easy. Certain it is that no ancient authorities exist who can pass this information on to us. A few facts may be gleaned from available data, but the rest can be worked out only by a laborious process of trial and error.

Most biblical chronologists have followed a Nisan-to-Nisan year in dealing with the Hebrew kings.[5] The statement in the Mishna tract *Rosh Hashana* that the first of Nisan is the New Year for kings[6] is in large measure responsible for this point of view. Such outstanding authorities as Begrich and Morgenstern have pointed out, however, that, in view of the late date of the Mishna notice, we might expect to find recorded there merely a late tradition.[7] It is quite possible that, by the time the Mishna statement was prepared, all memory of the exact chronological arrangements of the Hebrew kings had disappeared and that any statements from the authorities of that age are as arbitrary as those of recent investigators.

Kleber employs a Nisan-to-Nisan year for Judah but a Tishri-to-Tishri year for Israel.[8] Many of the best modern students of chronology follow a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning for both Judah and Israel.[9] Begrich believes that a shift was made from a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning in the early period to a Nisan-to-Nisan year in later times.[10] Mahler holds that the regnal and the calendar years were not identical but that the former was counted from the day on which the king first came to the throne.[11]

The difficulty with the above systems, however, is that they do not succeed in clearing up the discrepancies in the synchronisms. If the position is taken that these discrepancies are irreconcilable, there might be no way of proving with absolute finality whether the above systems are right or wrong, for complete evidence on this point is not at present available, as has been expressed by some who have made the most careful study of the subject.[12]

There is evidence, however, to give some indications as to the type of regnal

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[5] Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London, 1728), p. 296; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh, 1857), I, 206; Franz Xaver Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster, 1922), p. 26; Julius Lewy, "Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens," *MVAG*, XXIX, No. 2 (1924), 25; Willis Judson Beecher, *The Dated Events of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 11.

[6] *Babylonian Talmud, Tract Rosh Hashana*, "New Year," chap. i, 1.

[7] Joachim Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda und die Quellen des Rahmens der Königsbücher* (Tübingen, 1929), p. 70; Julian Morgenstern, "The New Year for Kings," *Occident and Orient, Gaster Anniversary Volume* (London, 1936), pp. 439, 454–55.

[8] Albert M. Kleber, "The Chronology of 3 and 4 Kings and 2 Paralipomenon," *Biblica*, II (1921), 15.

[9] Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *Acta orientalia*, IX (1941), 175 ff.; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 439–56; "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, X (1935), 1 ff.; and *Amos Studies* (Cincinnati, 1941), I, 127–79.

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 70–90.

[11] Edward Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 236–42.

[12] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1911), II, 27; Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning* (Lund, 1920), pp. 232 ff., 272 ff.

year employed in Judah. That a Tishri-to-Tishri year was used in the reckoning of Solomon's reign is indicated by the data available concerning the building of the temple. The temple was begun in the second month of the fourth year of Solomon (I Kings 6:1, 37), and it was completed in the eighth month of Solomon's eleventh year, having been seven years in building (I Kings 6:38). In the Hebrew scriptures the months are numbered from Nisan, whether the reckoning was according to a spring or a fall year.[13] And reckoning was according to the inclusive system, whereby the first and last units or fractions of units of a group were included as full units in the total of that group.[14] If Solomon's regnal year began in Nisan, then, according to the above method of counting, the construction of the temple would have occupied eight years instead of seven. As will be clear from Figure 1, the figure of seven years for the building of the temple can be secured only when regnal years are computed from Tishri to Tishri but with a Nisan-to-Nisan year employed for the reckoning of the ordinary events of the people and the ecclesiastical year.

If the regnal years of Solomon were figured from Tishri to Tishri, this would certainly be the method employed in the Southern Kingdom. That Judah almost at the close of its history was still counting its regnal years from Tishri to Tishri is proved by II Kings 22:3 and 23:23, for it was in the eighteenth year of Josiah that the work of repair was begun on the temple, and it was still in the same eighteenth year, after the first of Nisan had passed, that the Passover was celebrated. It is true that if all the events narrated between II Kings 22:3 and 23:23—the delivering of the funds for the repair of the temple to the carpenters, builders, and masons who were to perform this work; the accomplishment of the work of repair; the finding of the book of the law; the reading of the book by Shaphan the scribe and before the king; the consultation with Huldah the prophetess; the gathering of all the elders of Judah to Jerusalem to hear the reading of the law; the destruction of the vessels of Baal; the putting-down of the idolatrous priests; the breaking-down of the houses of the sodomites; the defilement of the high places from Geba to Beersheba; the destruction of the emblems of the sun-god; the desolation of the altar and high place at Bethel; the doing-away with all the houses of the high

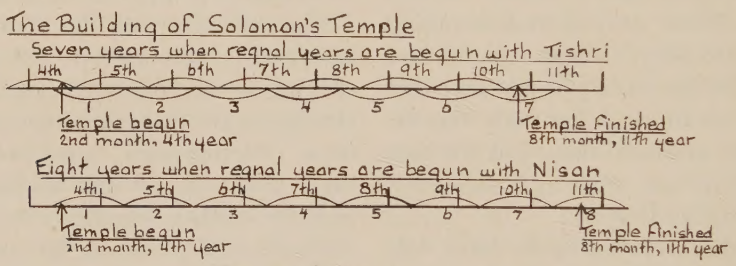
The Building of Solomon's Temple
Seven years when regnal years are begun with Tishri
4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th 11th
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Temple begun
2nd month, 4th year
Temple finished
8th month, 11th year
Eight years when regnal years are begun with Nisan
4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th 11th
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Temple begun
2nd month, 4th year
Temple finished
8th month, 11th year

FIG. 1

[13] See Exod. 12:2; Lev. 23:5, 24, 27; Num. 9:1, 5, 11; 28:16; 29:1, 7; I Kings 8:2; II Kings 25:25; Jer. 41:1, 8; II Chron. 5:3; 7:10; 29:3, 17; 30:1–3, 13, 15; Jer. 36:9, 22; Ezra 6:19; Neh. 1:1; 7:73–9:1; Esther 3:7, 12, 13; 8:9.

[14] See I Sam. 20:5, 12, 24, 27, where Jonathan on the last day of the month speaks of the day after the morrow, the second of the new month, as "the third day"; and II Kings 18:9, 10, where the period from the seventh to the ninth years of Hoshea is given as three years. Cf. also Matt. 12:40 and Mark 8:31, where the period from Christ's crucifixion on Friday afternoon to his resurrection on Sunday morning is counted as three days; and Acts 10:4–30, where the period from a certain day on which Cornelius had a vision, the next day when he sent messengers to Peter at Joppa, the following day when they arrived at the home of Peter, and the day after that, when Peter arrived at the home of Cornelius, is reckoned as four days.

places in the cities of Samaria; and the slaying of the idolatrous priests—if all this could have been performed in the short period of two weeks between the first and the fourteenth of Nisan, then there would be no evidence here for the beginning of the regnal year with Tishri 1. But since it is quite clear that all the above events could not have taken place in a two-week period, it is evident that Josiah's eighteenth year of reign must have commenced before the first of Nisan and carried over beyond Nisan 1 and that Tishri 1 must have thus been the beginning of the regnal year. Furthermore, it is clear from Neh. 1:1 and 2:1 that Nehemiah reckoned the years of the Persian king Artaxerxes from Tishri to Tishri, for a certain Kislev was in the twentieth year of the king, and the following Nisan was still in the same twentieth year. But why would he do this, when it was well known to him that the Persian kings reckoned their years from Nisan to Nisan? Is it not reasonable to suppose that Nehemiah was acquainted with the custom formerly followed by the kings of Judah of beginning their regnal years with Tishri and, in a spirit of intense nationalism, applied the Jewish practice even to a Persian king?

For further details of the methods of reckoning employed by the Hebrews, no specific evidence need here be given, for the evidence will be found throughout the following pages in the harmonious correlation of the data regarding the synchronisms and lengths of reigns when the present scheme is employed, whereas according to any other method the vexatious discrepancies will ever be present.

Trial and error has indicated the following bases by which alone the Hebrew chronology for the period of the kings may be understood:

1. In Israel the regnal year began with Nisan, while in Judah it began with Tishri.

2. At the time of the schism Judah reckoned the years of its kings according to the accession-year system, "postdating," as it is usually called; while Israel employed the nonaccession-year system, "antedating."[15] In Judah, from the time of Jehoram, reigns were figured according to the nonaccession-year system, and this was continued until the time of Amaziah, when the accession-year system was again employed. Israel continued the use of the nonaccession-year system until the time of Jehoash, when it adopted the accession-year system and retained this system to the end of its history.[16]

3. Both Israel and Judah, when computing the years of each other's kings, did

[15] According to the accession-year system—the system commonly employed by the Mesopotamian powers, Assyria and Babylon, and by Persia—that portion of the regnal year during which a king came to the throne was called not the first but the accession year. Thus in a nation in which the regnal year began with Nisan, that portion of the year from the time the king ascended the throne up to the next first of Nisan was known as that king's accession year, while his first year began with this same first of Nisan. According to the nonaccession-year system, however, the year in which a king came to the throne was known as his first year, while his second year began with the first of Nisan following his accession.

[16] The writer is happy to acknowledge a number of striking parallels between the details of his chronological scheme and that of Professor V. Coucke of the Grand Séminaire de Bruges. See "Chronologie biblique," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. Vigouroux (*Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot), Vol. I (1928). Not until the writer had worked out his system did he become aware of the earlier work of Professor Coucke. It is a matter of gratification to know that these two independent studies have produced essentially the same results on a number of important points, such as Tishri-to-Tishri regnal years in Judah and Nisan-to-Nisan years in Israel (though Professor Coucke suggests the latter might be the first of Thoth instead of Nisan), and accession-year reckoning in Judah except for a period when a shift was made to the nonaccession-year system, and nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel with a later shift to the accession-year system. Professor Coucke, however, commences Judah's shift to the nonaccession-year system with Athaliah instead of Jehoram and continues it through the reign of Jotham or Ahaz instead of to the accession of Amaziah; Israel's shift to the accession-year system he commences with Menahem instead of Jehoash, with a shift back to the nonaccession-year system under Pekah, and then again to the accession-year system under Hoshea. Other vital points, however, were not ascertained by Professor Coucke, and in consequence he retains a number of discrepancies and uncertainties in his completed scheme.

so according to the method of reckoning in force in their own countries and not according to the system used by their neighbors. Thus, when Israel was employing the nonaccession-year system and Judah was employing the accession-year system, a scribe of Israel would speak of the years of a king of Judah according to the nonaccession-year system, while a scribe of Judah would refer to the years of a king of Israel according to the accession-year system.[17]

4. Both Israel and Judah made use of coregencies, but in neither nation did interregna occur.[18]

5. In the case of coregencies the years of the king were usually counted from the beginning of the coregency.

The best argument for the correctness of the above outline of chronological procedure among the Hebrews is that it works, giving us a chronological scheme of the kings of Israel and Judah in which there is internal harmony and which fits into the chronology of neighboring states. When these principles are applied to the Hebrew kings, it will be found that the irritating discrepancies that have so long baffled and perplexed students of Old Testament history will at last disappear. To apply these principles to the data of the Massoretic text available for the various kings of Israel and Judah, and thus to establish the chronology for the royal period, is the task we shall here undertake.

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ABSOLUTE DATE IN HEBREW HISTORY

In the Old Testament no absolute dates are given, and it becomes our first task to establish, if we can, some absolute date in the history of Israel which can be used as a starting-place for the establishment of other dates in the desired chronological scheme. Our only hope of doing this is to find some cardinal point of contact where Hebrew history ties with certainty into the history of some other state whose absolute chronology has already been established.

[17] The question may be raised whether Israel and Judah in their cross-reckonings of the reigns of each other's kings might not also have begun counting the regnal year of the neighboring kings from the month with which they began their own regnal years and not with that employed by the neighbor. That is, might not Israel have reckoned the years of the kings of Judah as beginning with Nisan and might not Judah have reckoned the years of the kings of Israel as beginning with Tishri? The possibility that such a procedure might at times have been followed is indicated by the fact that Nehemiah, when speaking of the reign of Artaxerxes, applied the Judean practice of beginning the regnal year with Tishri even to that of a king of Persia (Neh. 1:1; 2:1); but that such a system was not regularly employed is revealed by the fact that, when the endeavor is made to employ this system in reckoning the synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah (flexible though the system may be), the vexatious discrepancies remain, whereas with the scheme herewith suggested they disappear. Not even the reign of the first king of Israel, Jeroboam, can be synchronized with the reigns of his contemporaries Abijam and Asa according to this system without discrepancies. It is clear, then, that this system could not have been followed as a regular procedure.

[18] A coregency is a perfectly proper and historical procedure. In certain nations at certain times, as in Egypt during the Twelfth Dynasty, coregencies were the usual procedure. Among the Hebrews Solomon was anointed and proclaimed king at the specific direction of David before the latter's death (I Kings 1:30—2:10). The accession of Jehoram during the reign of his father Jehoshaphat is definitely mentioned (II Kings 8:16). Concerning Azariah, it is declared that he was a leper and that his son Jotham judged the people in his stead (II Kings 15:5). Coregencies are usually not specifically recorded as such, but, when the available evidence points to their existence, they are to be accepted. An interregnum, however, is neither a proper nor a regular historical procedure. As long as a nation remains a going concern, that nation continues to have its governmental leaders to direct its affairs. Breaks do occur, but when they occur they usually involve a more or less violent turnover in administration with an accompanying chaos until a readjustment takes place. However, in such a nation as Israel, at a period of history when so much was involved in the royal head of the state, it is inconceivable that such lapses of rulers as have been postulated should have occurred. The interregna at times employed by biblical chronologists are pure inventions with no evidence of their existence and are resorted to solely for the purpose of evading difficulties in the given data. Such a procedure, however, only raises more problems than it solves, for it is obvious that if an interregnum is invented simply for the sake of clearing up some supposed discrepancy in synchronisms and if such an interregnum had not actually occurred, its effect would be to increase the chronology of the period involved by just that many years and thus to throw the reckoning off that much from a correct and absolute chronology.

In the early period of the Hebrew monarchies the most frequent and definite contacts were with Assyria, and in the later period they were with Neo-Babylonia. Fortunately, the chronologies of these two nations, at least for the period with which we are most concerned, have been quite definitely established. There were also frequent Hebrew contacts with Egypt, Syria, and other lesser states, but these contacts were in almost all instances very indefinite in point of time, and the chronologies of these nations are likewise far from being positively established.

Assyrian chronology back to the beginning of the ninth century B.C. rests upon a highly dependable basis. Of outstanding importance is an eclipse of the sun which fixes the Assyrian eponym list. The canon reports that in the month of Simanu, in the eponymy of Bur-Sagale, an eclipse of the sun took place. Astronomical computation has fixed this as June 15, 763.[19] The Assyrian eponym lists extant today provide a reliable record of the annual *limmu* officials from 890 to 648 B.C., and for this same period they provide us with reliable dates in Assyrian history. Where events are dated by the eponym of any particular year, the absolute dates of those events can be given with almost complete certainty.

To establish an absolute date in Hebrew history, it is necessary to secure an exact synchronism with some established Assyrian date. The earliest point where a positive synchronism between Israel and Assyria may be secured is from the reigns of Ahab and Jehu and Shalmaneser III. The latter lists Ahab as one of the western allies who fought against him at the Battle of Qarqar, during his sixth year, the eponymy of Daian-Assur, 853 B.C.,[20] and mentions receiving tribute from Jehu dur-

[19] Various efforts have been put forth to identify this eclipse either with that of June 24, 791, or with that of June 13, 809. These efforts have usually been prompted by the attempt to introduce some adjustment in Assyrian chronology which might bring about a closer harmony with certain preconceived ideas of biblical chronology. Such attempts introduce not harmony but confusion into both Hebrew and Assyrian history. They presuppose a break in the eponym canon at the very period when the validity of that canon is abundantly sustained by the almost contemporaneous Khorsabad king list which comes from the time of Ashur-nerari V (755–745 B.C.) (see A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *JNES*, II [1943], 74, 78).

[20] Since in this inquiry we propose to deal with absolute chronology and since Ahab's contact with Shalmaneser at Qarqar is a cardinal point of departure, the establishment of the exact date of Qarqar is a matter of vital importance. The question is, of course, whether this was 854 or 853. The reason for these two datings lies in the fact that on one eponym list, C^a3, the symbol of Ebeling in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 423, is found one more eponym, Balatu, than is found on the other lists C^a6, C^b2, and C^c. Either list C^a3 is correct and the other lists have mistakenly omitted the name of Balatu, or the latter three lists are correct and some explanation must be found for the insertion of the name "Balatu" on list C^a3. If the former position is taken, all dates beyond Balatu will be one year higher than if the latter position is held. This is responsible for the divergent dates of 854 and 853 for Qarqar and for all points beyond 785 B.C.

Not only does list C^a3 contain the extra name "Balatu," but on this list the eponym Nabu-shar-usur occupies a different place than it does on the other lists. On C^a3 the sequence is as follows:

788 Sil-Ishtar
787 Balatu
786 Adad-uballit
785 Marduk-shar-usur
784 Nabu-shar-usur
783 Ninurta-nasir

But on the other lists occurs the following sequence:

787 Sil-Ishtar
786 Nabu-shar-usur
785 Adad-uballit
784 Marduk-shar-usur
783 Ninurta-nasir

It will thus be seen that on the latter three lists the name of Nabu-shar-usur occupies the place which on C^a3 is held by Balatu.

Olmstead accepts the list containing the extra eponym Balatu as correct and ascribes the omission of this name from the other lists to a scribal error (see A. T. Olmstead, "The Assyrian Chronicle," *JAOS*, XXXIX [1915], 344 ff.; "Shalmaneser III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power," *ibid.*, XLI [1921], 374, n. 61; and "Bruno Meissner," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V [1928–29], 30).

Forrer, on the other hand, accepts the witness of the lists containing the eponym Nabu-shar-usur for the year 786 as correct and explains the inclusion of the name "Balatu" on the other list by the suggestion that the name of the eponym for an ensuing year was in all likelihood announced before the first of Nisan of the year in which he was to hold office, that the death of Balatu, who had been selected as the eponym for 786, took place after the announcement of his name but before his assumption of office, and that, consequently, a new eponym, Nabu-shar-usur, was appointed, but that in the most distant provinces datings during the first few months of the year, before

ing his expedition to the West in his eighteenth year, 841. Ahab was succeeded by Ahaziah, who reigned two years, and he in turn by Jehoram, who had a reign of twelve years before Jehu came to the throne. Inasmuch as there was, according to the nonaccession-year system of reckoning then in use in Israel, an overlapping of the last year of an outgoing king with the first year of an incoming king, there would thus be an interval of just twelve years—one for Ahaziah and eleven for Jehoram—between the last year of Ahab and the first year of Jehu, which is exactly the interval between the years in which Ahab fought at Qarqar and Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III; thus we secure the date of 853 as the final year of Ahab and 841 as the first year of Jehu.[21]

With 853 fixed as the last year of Ahab, we should be able from the data available in the Massoretic text to ascertain the date of the first year of Jeroboam I and the schism between Judah and Israel. The official and actual years of reign for this period, deducting from the reign of each king the one year overlap involved when the nonaccession-year system of reckoning is employed, are as follows:

King	Official Reign	Actual Reign
Jeroboam I	22 years	21 years
Nadab	2 years	1 year
Baasha	24 years	23 years
Elah	2 years	1 year
Zimri	7 days	.....
Omri	12 years	11 years
Ahab	22 years	21 years
Total	84 years, 7 days	78 years

With an interval of 78 years between the accession of Jeroboam I and the death

word could reach them of the newly appointed eponym, would be by the name of the eponym already deceased. Thus according to this hypothesis there were two eponyms, Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur, for the year 786, with the scribe responsible for C³3 inserting the name "Nabu-shar-usur" in the wrong place and with the scribes responsible for the other lists omitting the name of the deceased Balatu (see Emil Forrer, "Zur Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit," *MVAG*, XX, No. 3 [1915], 5 ff.).

A determination of the question whether there were one or two eponyms during the year 786, and whether the longer or the shorter chronology is correct, is vital to our inquiry. If we know the total number of years from some fixed point beyond 786 to some fixed point on this side of 786, an answer to this question could be given. Beyond 786, the accession of Shalmaneser III in the eponymy of Tab-Bel, according to the Assyrian Chronicle, is one such fixed point. This is 860 according to the longer chronology and 859 according to the shorter. On this side of 786, a fixed point is the accession of Tiglath-pileser III in the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur, according to the Assyrian Chronicle, in the year 745. The total of the years of reign of the kings who ruled between these two points will provide the number of years between the eponymies of Tab-Bel and Nabu-bel-usur. These, according to the Khorsabad list, are as follows:

	Years
Shalmaneser III	35
Shamshi-Adad V	13
Adad-nerari III	28
Shalmaneser IV	10
Assur-dan III	18
Assur-nerari V	10
Total	114

Since the death of Assur-nerari V and the accession of Tiglath-pileser III took place in 745, in the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur, the accession of Shalmaneser III and the eponymy of Tab-Bel must be just 114 years before, or 759. According to the evidence, then, of the Khorsabad list, the shorter rather than the longer chronology is correct.

Another indication that this is the case is the fact that according to the Khorsabad list the reign of Adad-nerari III, which covers the section of the eponym list under dispute, was 28 years, and according to the shorter chronology there were just 28 years from the eponymy of Adad-nerari III to the eponymy of his successor, Shalmaneser IV, whereas according to the longer chronology there were 29 years. The only other explanation of this would be to assume that, instead of following the usual custom of holding the eponymy during the second year of reign, either Adad-nerari held the eponymy during his first year or Shalmaneser in his third year. There is no evidence, however, of variations from the regular custom until a century after this time.

If the testimony of the Khorsabad list can be accepted, the shorter chronology is correct, and 853 rather than 854 is the correct date for the Battle of Qarqar. There is every indication that this is the case, and it is this chronology which will herein be followed.

[21] Since the interval between Qarqar and the payment of tribute by Jehu is just 12 years, no other datings for these events are possible, for, if we were to push Qarqar back to some other year than the last year of Ahab, we would be required to push back the payment of tribute by Jehu an equal period, and that would be before he came to the throne. If, on the other hand, we were to advance the payment of tribute by Jehu to some time later than his accession year, we would likewise be forced to advance the Battle of Qarqar an equal period beyond the last year of Ahab, and this would be an impossibility.

of Ahab, and with the latter occurring in 853 B.C., we thus secure the date of 931 B.C. as the year of Jeroboam's accession and of the schism between Judah and Israel. And, being in possession of this date, we are in a position, if the data with which we shall work are basically sound, to ascertain the dates for the kings of Judah and Israel to the close of their histories.

III. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, 931–740 B.C.

Jeroboam I of Israel took the kingdom during the year of Rehoboam's accession to the throne of Judah (I Kings 12:1–20). Since Jeroboam took the throne in 931, that would, therefore, also be the year of Rehoboam's accession.[22] It is of interest to notice that Jeroboam did not follow the practice employed by the kings of Judah of beginning the regnal year with Tishri but that he began his own regnal year with Nisan. During the closing years of Solomon's reign, Jeroboam had been a political refugee in Egypt (I Kings 11:40) and had returned only after the death of Solomon (I Kings 12:2, 3). While in Egypt he had, of course, become acquainted with the Egyptian "wandering" year, which in his time happened to begin in the middle of April, and upon his assumption of the royal power in Israel it was only natural for him to begin his regnal year at some time other than that employed in the rival kingdom of Judah and to adopt a spring new year as was the practice in both Egypt and the Mesopotamian Valley.

Judah, in contrast to Israel, was now reckoning according to the accession-year system. The year Tishri, 931, to Tishri, 930, was thus the accession year of Rehoboam, while his first year was from Tishri, 930, to Tishri, 929 (see the chart accompanying this article, after p. 154). It was in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Tishri, 926, to Tishri, 925, that Shishak of Egypt came against Jerusalem during his invasion of Palestine (I Kings 14:25; II Chron. 12:2). This Shishak was the vigorous and able Sheshonk I, founder of Egypt's Twenty-second Dynasty, who left his own record of his Palestinian invasion and of the cities he captured. Breasted gives the date of this invasion as "probably about 926 B.C."[23] He was almost exactly correct. If the invasion took place in the fall after Tishri, which was not the time of year when invaders of Palestine usually entered upon their campaigns, then the date was 926; but if it was in the spring of the year, which is much more probable, then the date can be fixed by the chronology of the Massoretic text as 925.

Rehoboam reigned seventeen years (I Kings 14:21; II Chron. 12:13) and was succeeded by his son Abijam, who began his reign in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam (I Kings 15:1; II Chron. 13:1). Since Abijam was a king of Judah where the accession-year system was followed, the reference to the eighteenth year of Jeroboam was to the eighteenth year of that king figured according to the accession-year principle, which was one year later than the eighteenth year of Jeroboam figured according to the nonaccession-year system prevailing in Israel. That year was 913, which Jeroboam called his nineteenth year. The accession of Abijam thus took place some time after Nisan, 913, when Jeroboam's own "eighteenth year" began, and before Tishri.

[22] It should be noted that when the date 931 is given as the accession year of Jeroboam I and of Rehoboam, what is actually meant is that Jeroboam came to the throne some time between the first of Nisan, 931, and the first of Nisan, 930, and that Rehoboam's accession took place some time between Tishri 1, 931, and Tishri 1, 930. Inasmuch, however, as the accession of Rehoboam preceded that of Jeroboam, the accession of the latter must actually have occurred at some time after Tishri 1, 931, and before Nisan 1, 930.

[23] J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1912), p. 529.

Abijam reigned three years and was succeeded by his son Asa in the twentieth year of Jeroboam (I Kings 15:9). This again was the twentieth year of Jeroboam according to the accession-year system, or Jeroboam's own twenty-first year. Asa thus took the throne some time between Tishri, 911, and Nisan, 910.

Jeroboam I ruled twenty-two years (I Kings 14:20). Since he was a northern king using nonaccession-year reckoning, this was an actual twenty-one years rather than twenty-two. He was succeeded by his son Nadab in the second year of Asa (I Kings 15:25). Nadab, being a king of Israel, was, in accordance with the system already described, speaking of the years of a king of Judah according to his own nonaccession-year principle, and thus his second year of Asa was the year which Asa termed the first year of his reign. Nadab thus began to reign between Tishri, 910, and Nisan, 909. He ruled two years (I Kings 15:25) and was succeeded by the usurper Baasha in the third year of Asa (I Kings 15:27, 28, 33). It is obvious that, having begun his reign in the second year of Asa and having completed his two-year reign by the third year of Asa, he must be employing the nonaccession-year principle. The date of Baasha's accession thus falls between Tishri, 909, and Nisan, 908. He reigned twenty-four years (I Kings 15:33) and was succeeded by his son Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa (I Kings 16:8), between Tishri, 886, and Nisan, 885. Elah ruled two years (I Kings 16:8), when he was slain and succeeded by his chariot commander, Zimri, in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:10, 15), 885/84. Since he had come to the throne in the twenty-sixth year of Asa and had completed his two-year reign by the twenty-seventh year of Asa, we have here again positive proof that in Israel the nonaccession-year system was being employed. After only seven days on the throne Zimri was disposed of by Omri, also in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:15, 16), between Tishri, 885, and Nisan, 884.

Omri ruled twelve years and was succeeded by his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:23, 29), between Tishri, 874, and Nisan, 873. The dates for the beginning and the close of Omri's reign are thus definitely fixed. Omri did not at first possess control of all Israel, since half of the people followed Tibni (I Kings 16:21). Though the length of Tibni's rule is not stated, there are indications as to when this came to an end and when Omri took over control of the entire state. Of the twelve years of Omri's rule, six were said to have been from Tirzah as his capital, and he is said to have begun to rule in the thirty-first year of Asa (I Kings 16:23). But we have already seen that Omri displaced Zimri as king in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, 885/84, so this statement that he began to rule in the thirty-first year of Asa would clearly indicate this as the beginning of his sole reign and would provide 880 as the date for the elimination of Tibni. It is altogether possible that there is some connection between Tibni's rival rule and the fact that Omri was restricted to Tirzah as his capital for the first six years of his reign.

Coming back to Judah, we learn that Asa, who came to the throne in 911/10, ruled forty-one years (I Kings 15:10). Inasmuch as he was a southern king, the reckoning would be on the accession-year basis and would bring the termination of his reign and the beginning of that of his successor Jehoshaphat in 870/69. That year should be the fourth of Ahab, accession-year basis, and so it is declared to be (I Kings 22:41).

Ahab's rule over Israel continued for twenty-two years (I Kings 16:29), from 874/73 to the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, when he was succeeded by his son

Ahaziah (I Kings 22:51). This synchronism falls between Nisan and Tishri, 853.[24] Ahaziah ruled two years (I Kings 22:51) and was succeeded by Jehoram, another son of Ahab, in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1) and in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), some time between Nisan and Tishri, 852. This double-dating points to the existence of a coregency in Judah at this time, this being the second year that Jehoram was reigning with his father Jehoshaphat. Jehoram ruled twelve years (II Kings 3:1) and was slain and succeeded by the usurper Jehu (II Kings 9:23, 24).

It is at this period of Israel's history that for the first time accurately dated events in Assyrian history can be definitely tied into Hebrew history. Ahab was listed among the western allies who fought against Shalmaneser III at Qarqar in the eponym-year of Daian-Assur,[25] the sixth year of Shalmaneser III, 853.[26] Unfortunately, no record has been preserved of the exact year of Ahab's reign when Qarqar was fought, but, as we have seen above, this must have been in his last year, since it is known that twelve years after Qarqar, in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, the latter received tribute from Jehu,[27] and there is also an interval of exactly twelve years between the last year of Ahab and the first year of Jehu. We thus secure 853 as the year of Ahab's death,[28] and 841 for the accession of Jehu.

With the accession of Jehu in Israel fixed to 841, this date must also mark the end of the reign of Ahaziah, who was slain by Jehu at the same time that he slew Jehoram (II Kings 9:23–27), and the accession of Athaliah, who succeeded Ahaziah (II Kings 11:1, 3). It is important that the above date be definitely established, for it will assist materially in the reconstruction of the chronology of Judah for

[24] In the Harvard excavations of Ahab's palace at Samaria fragments of an alabaster jar were found bearing an inscription of Osorkon II (see George Andrew Reisner, Clarence Stanley Fisher, and David Gordon Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908–1910* [Cambridge, Mass., 1924], I, 81). Breasted's date for Osorkon is 874–853, and thus he was an exact contemporary of Ahab.

[25] Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926), Vol. I, secs. 563, 610, 646.

[26] "Dajanu-Assur," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, eds. Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, Vol. II (1938); Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[27] Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 672.

[28] Inasmuch as Ahab was slain in battle by the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead (I Kings 22:3, 34, 35), this campaign must likewise have occurred in the year 853, following Qarqar. The month and day of the Battle of Qarqar are not given, but Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh on this campaign on Airu 14 and crossed the Euphrates at its flood (Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 610). This could not have been much later than the last of June, for in this month the flood is already on the decline and in late July reaches a low-water stage. For modern recordings of the Euphrates flow see M. G. Ionides, *The Regime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London, 1937), pp. 39 ff. The Battle of Qarqar was thus probably fought during July or possibly early August. This would, however, leave Ahab ample time to return to Samaria and, with his forces already mustered, conduct the campaign at Ramoth-gilead well before the close of the season that year. For three years he had been at peace with Syria (I Kings 22:1). The suggestion has been made that the alliance between Israel and Syria was prompted by a common fear of the growing power of Assyria (see Eberhard Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse [London, 1885], I, 189–90; II, 323; Francis Brown, *Assyriology, Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study* [New York, 1885], pp. 53–62). Threatened by the same danger, Ahab and Benhadad were for a time able to bury their differences. The Syrian king was no doubt at the head of the western allies, for it is always he who is listed first in Shalmaneser's accounts of Qarqar. And it was he who furnished the largest number of infantry—twenty thousand out of the fifty-odd thousand involved are the figures given. It is altogether possible that Syria suffered a disproportionate share of the huge losses that Shalmaneser claims to have inflicted on the enemy and that Ahab with his chariots might have given a particularly good account of himself. At any rate, immediately after the battle was over, Ahab felt himself able to come to grips with his old foe and recent ally. On his return to Samaria he might have determined to square accounts with Syria before dispersing his troops, and Jehoshaphat was probably invited to Samaria with a large retinue and showered with hospitality (II Chron. 18:2) for the express purpose of securing his co-operation in the contemplated campaign for the recovery of Ramoth-gilead. The accession of Jehoram as coregent with Jehoshaphat in 853 may have had some connection with his father's forthcoming participation in the campaign against Syria.

the period immediately preceding. Without such a check there are some items which might lead to erroneous conclusions.

Ahaziah ruled over Judah only one year (II Kings 8:26). If the accession-year principle of reckoning is applied to that year, as it has been to all other kings of Judah thus far, then Ahaziah came to the throne in 842, the year prior to his death in 841. The predecessor of Ahaziah was Jehoram, who ruled eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20). If the eighth year of Jehoram was 842, then he would have come to the throne in 850 according to the accession-year system. But the record states that he came to the throne in the fifth year of Jehoram of Israel (II Kings 8:16), and that year, according to the accession-year principle which has so far prevailed, is 847. Thus there seems to exist a discrepancy of three years.

The key to the difficulty is provided by the information given concerning the accession of Ahaziah. One record states that he came to the throne in the eleventh year of Jehoram of Israel (II Kings 9:29), while another gives the time as the twelfth year (II Kings 8:25). This double-dating for the accession of Ahaziah in terms of Jehoram of Israel is significant, for it provides a clue to the fact that at this period the Southern Kingdom had shifted its method of reckoning from the accession-year system to the nonaccession-year system. One group of scribes accepted the new system and, in accordance with the regular custom, applied it to the king of North Israel, while another group of scribes of the conservative class refused to follow the innovation and clung to the old system. The change was introduced either by Jehoram, whose wife was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (II Kings 8:18, 26), or possibly by Athaliah herself when she took the throne of her slain son, with the reckoning in the latter instance thrown back by the scribes to include the reign of Jehoram.[29] The nonaccession-year reckoning for Judah now evident in the records, at least, goes back to the reign of Jehoram.

A period of *rapprochement* between Judah and Israel had been introduced by Jehoshaphat, with the royal families intermarrying (II Kings 8:18, 26), adopting the same names for their children (II Kings 3:1; 8:16), and visiting each other (II Kings 8:29; II Chron. 18:1, 2). The two nations united in joint ventures for foreign trade (II Chron. 20:35, 36) and made a common disposition of their forces in battle (I Kings 22:2–4; II Chron. 18:3–31). Israel rather than Judah seemed to be the leading power in these matters of affiliation, with the Southern Kingdom following the lead of her northern neighbor (I Kings 22:2; II Kings 8:27; II Chron. 18:2, 3; 22:2–5) and being rebuked by her prophets for this affiliation (II Chron. 19:2; 20:37). With such a strong-willed daughter of Jezebel as his wife (II Chron. 22:2, 3, 10–12; II Kings 11:1–3), it is only to be expected that Jehoram would be induced to adopt certain customs of the northern house. Indeed, the record expressly declares of him that "he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab" (II Kings 8:18; II Chron. 21:6). Such a grip did northern influence at this time secure upon the Southern Kingdom that Judah changed her method of reckoning the years of her kings to correspond with that of Israel. Once introduced, the nonaccession-year system was to continue in Judah for fifty-two years through

[29] I am indebted for this latter suggestion to Professor W. A. Irwin. Inasmuch as both the accession- and the nonaccession-year systems were still in use at the end of Jehoram's reign, Professor Irwin has called my attention to the fact that the actual shift in reckoning may well have been introduced by Athaliah and then thrown back by the scribes or annalists to include the reign of Jehoram, but with the conservative element continuing for a time to cling to the old system.

the reigns of four rulers. The valuable clue to this change found in the Massoretic text of II Kings 8:25 has been lost in the Lucian text, whose editor changed the "12" to an "11" to correspond to II Kings 9:29.[30]

The new system of reckoning now prevailing in Judah produces the following results for the period under discussion: Ahaziah's one-year reign, which, as already ascertained, ended in 841, also had its beginning in that year. Since Jehoram's years were reckoned from Nisan and Ahaziah's from Tishri, the reign began at some time after Nisan and ended before Tishri, 841. Jehoram, the predecessor of Ahaziah, reigned eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20), and this, according to the nonaccession-year system which he was following, brought the beginning of his reign in 848. This is the fifth year of Jehoram, not according to the old accession-year system but according to the newly adopted nonaccession-year system—another evidence of the adoption of this system at this time. Jehoram's accession thus took place some time between Nisan and Tishri, 848.

It has already been pointed out that the double-dating of the accession of Jehoram of Israel, both in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1) as well as in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), points to a coregency between Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, of which 852 was the second year and 853 was the first.

Still another perplexity remains. Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years (I Kings 22:42; II Chron. 20:31). His father Asa completed his reign between Tishri, 870, and Nisan, 869. If that year is taken as the accession year of Jehoshaphat, his twenty-fifth and last year would come in 845, and that would be the year when his son Jehoram would begin his sole reign. But we have already secured 853 as the date when Jehoram began his coregency with his father and 848 as the beginning of his sole reign. The latter date must thus mark the termination of Jehoshaphat's twenty-five years, and 873 would then be their beginning. This was three years before the death of Asa, and our enumeration would thus call for a coregency for this period of Jehoshaphat with his father Asa. Was there any condition that might call for such a coregency? The chronicler has preserved the report that in the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa was "diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great" (II Chron. 16:12). So it is altogether probable that at about this time the precarious state of Asa's health necessitated his associating his son Jehoshaphat with him on the throne[31] and that the latter's twenty-five years of reign began in 873/72 in a coregency until 870/69 with his aged, stricken father.

The accession of Athaliah in 841 has already been mentioned. The length of her reign is not recorded, but it is stated that the infant Joash was hidden in the temple for a period of six years (II Kings 11:3; II Chron. 22:12) and that in the seventh year he was brought forth and made king, with Athaliah being put to death (II Kings 11:4, 12, 20; II Chron. 23:1, 11, 15). The reign of Athaliah should thus be seven years. That this is correct is proved by the information that Joash began to rule in the seventh year of Jehu (II Kings 12:1), and Jehu, it will be remembered, began to reign in the same year as did Athaliah. It is significant, moreover, that this was according to the nonaccession-year system only recently introduced into Judah. One might have expected a reac-

[30] The author has already prepared a monograph on the variant figures in the Greek texts, the Syriac, and the account of Josephus, which will appear elsewhere at a later date.

[31] A number of biblical scholars have come to this same conclusion. Begrich (*op. cit.*, p. 130) calls attention to the fact that LXX Vaticanus a b credits Asa with only 39 years.

tion at this time and a return to the old system of reckoning. There was a reform and a return to some of the old customs, but the record explicitly points out that this was only partial and by no means as complete as was desired by the more conservative element (II Kings 12:3). The chronicler has preserved the report that when Zechariah, a son of Jehoiada, the priest who had championed the cause of the infant Joash and had preserved his life and placed him on the throne, issued a reprimand for the failure to institute a more complete reform, he was stoned at the command of the king (and this in the court of the House of the Lord), and that, because of his having followed such a course, Joash was beset by judgments sent upon him by God and was ultimately slain as the result of a conspiracy, to be buried not in the sepulchers of the kings but in the city of David (II Chron. 24:18–26). Certainly, too much in the way of a return to the old ways is hardly to be expected from such a king as this.

Athaliah came to the throne between Nisan and Tishri, 841, and reigned until the same period in 835, when she was succeeded by the infant Joash. The latter ruled forty years (II Kings 12:1) to 797/96.

Jehu was king over Israel twenty-eight years (II Kings 10:36) from some time between Nisan and Tishri, 841, to 814/13. He was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz who began his seventeen-year reign in the twenty-third year of Joash of Judah (II Kings 13:1), between Tishri, 814, and Nisan, 813. His kingship terminated in 798, and he was succeeded by his son Jehoash in the thirty-seventh year of Joash of Judah (II Kings 13:10).

Here we seem to meet with a discrepancy, for, according to the nonaccession-year system which we have thus far been following for Israel, the end of the seventeen-year reign of Jehoahaz and the accession of Jehoash of Israel took place in the thirty-eighth and not the thirty-seventh year of Joash, as the record declares. There is only one way in which this statement can be correct, and that is to compute it according to the accession-year principle. But the employment of such a statement for a king of Israel would imply a shift from the nonaccession- to the accession-year system. That this is precisely what did occur at this point is proved by the reckonings of all future kings of Israel, which henceforth without exception were according to this newly adopted system until the final breakup of the Northern Kingdom. The date of the accession of Jehoash of Israel can therefore be definitely established as at some point betweeen Nisan and Tishri, 798. The same year marked the first preserved date according to Israel's newly adopted accession-year system. The Northern Kingdom had at length forsaken the system of reckoning employed in Egypt for that in use in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys.

Amaziah of Judah succeeded his father Joash in the second year of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:1). If this is to be reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system, the time was between Tishri, 797, and Nisan, 796; but, if it was according to the accession-year system, it was between Nisan and Tishri, 796. It will be seen presently that the latter is correct. Jehoash of Israel reigned sixteen years (II Kings 13:10), and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II in the fifteenth year of Amaziah of Judah (II Kings 14:23). This took place between Tishri, 782, and Nisan, 781. Fifteen years after the death of Jehoash (II Kings 14:17) and after a reign of twenty-nine years (II Kings 14:2), occurred the death of Amaziah and the accession of his son Azariah in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II (II Kings 15:1), 767. But this turns out to be the

twenty-ninth year of Amaziah's reign, not according to the nonaccession-year system that had been followed in Judah since its introduction by Jehoram in 848, but according to the accession-year system. This is an indication that Judah was once more reckoning according to the accession-year system. That this is correct may be ascertained from the fact that henceforth the reigns of all the kings of Judah to the close of Judean history were reckoned according to the accession-year system. Since Amaziah was the first king whose reign was reckoned according to this system after its reintroduction into Judah, it was no doubt this king who made the change. His accession may thus be definitely set as between Nisan and Tishri, 796, which date likewise marks the first recorded instance of reckoning according to the readopted accession-year system.

It will be noticed that Judah made its shift back to the accession-year system only two years after the adoption of this system by Israel in 798. It can be hardly a mere coincidence that both Israel and Judah should have adopted the accession-year system at practically the same time, though one would hardly expect collaboration between such kings as Jehoash and Amaziah. Inasmuch as it was the accession-year system which was followed by Assyria and inasmuch as Assyria had by this time manifested very definite interests in the West, this shift to the accession-year system in both Israel and Judah is no doubt indicative of the growing power of Assyrian influence in western Asia and may point to a rather wide adoption of this system of reckoning in these areas at this time.

The ensuing period presents a number of outstanding chronological difficulties. The correct dating of Azariah, son and successor of Amaziah, will for this section prove to be of the greatest importance, for no less than six kings of Israel are dated in terms of the years of Azariah. It was in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II that Azariah began his reign (II Kings 15:1). Nisan to Tishri, 767, would thus mark a synchronism between the accession-year of Azariah and the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam. But the death of Jehoash, father of Jeroboam, has already been established as 782/81, and since Jeroboam came to the throne at that time, 767 would be his fifteenth and not his twenty-seventh year. There is only one way in which that year can be both the fifteenth and the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam at one and the same time, and that is to postulate a coregency of Jeroboam with his father lasting twelve years, with datings given in terms of that coregency. And if 767 is the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam, then 793 would be the first year of his regency. He reigned forty-one years (II Kings 14:23) to 753. At that time Jeroboam was succeeded by his son Zachariah, in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8). Nisan to Tishri of Zachariah's accession year, 753, overlapped the last six months of the thirty-eighth year of Azariah—Tishri, 754, to Tishri, 753. Given 754/53 as the thirty-eighth year of Azariah, 768/67 would be his twenty-fourth year. But that is the year in which his father Amaziah died. Azariah had thus reigned twenty-four years before the death of his father, having come to the throne in 791/90. How can we account for this?

Amaziah's unprovoked war with Israel and his humiliating defeat (II Kings 14:8–14; II Chron. 25:17–24) evidently made him exceedingly unpopular with his people and may have been responsible for an early conspiracy against him and the elevation of the sixteen-year-old Azariah to the throne (II Kings 14:19, 21; II Chron. 25:27; 26:1). But Amaziah evidently lived on for twenty-four years

while the kingdom was ruled by his son Azariah, although the record of his violent death is introduced in immediate connection with the account of the much earlier initial insurrection. It is to be noticed that both Israel and Judah at this period, when expressing synchronisms of their kings in terms of the years of the neighboring king, do so in terms of the beginning of a coregency and not in terms of the sole reign, as has heretofore been the custom.

The accession of Zachariah as Jeroboam's successor in 753 has already been mentioned. Zachariah ruled only six months (II Kings 15:8) and was followed by the usurper Shallum in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:10, 13). The fact that Zachariah began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8) and that, after a reign of only six months, his successor came to the throne in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah is evidence that it was the last six months of Azariah's thirty-eighth year, Nisan to Tishri, and not the first six months, Tishri to Nisan, which overlapped Zachariah's reign. Zachariah thus began to reign some time between Nisan and Tishri, 753, and closed his reign between Tishri, 753, and Nisan, 752. The one-month reign of Shallum (II Kings 15:13), Zachariah's successor, must therefore have been some time between Tishri, 753, and Nisan, 752.

Shallum was in turn assassinated by Menahem, who took the throne during the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:14, 17). Unless there can be certainty as to the exact date when Shallum's reign of one month occurred, whether in 753 or in 752, there can be no certainty as to precisely when Menahem's reign began. If Zachariah began his six-month rule in Nisan (or soon thereafter) of 753, Shallum's reign could have fallen entirely within the year 753. In such a case the accession year of Menahem would be 753/52. If, however, Zachariah's reign did not begin until Elul, 753, it would have terminated in Adar, 752; with Shallum's reign beginning less than a month before the first of Nisan, it would have carried over into that month. In such a case the accession year of Menahem would be dated 752/51. The information given in the above connection is not sufficient to indicate which of these positions is correct.

If 753/52, however, be accepted as the accession year of Menahem, then his ten-year reign (II Kings 15:17) would terminate in 743/42, and then the accession year of Pekahiah, son and successor of Menahem (II Kings 15:22), would be Nisan, 743, to Nisan, 742. But Pekahiah came to the throne in the fiftieth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:23), and that year, according to the pattern we have been following, is from Tishri, 742, to Tishri, 741. Under this arrangement there would be no time when the accession year of Pekahiah would overlap the fiftieth year of Azariah, and therefore this position cannot be correct. If, however, 752/51 be taken as the accession year of Menahem, then his ten-year reign would terminate in 742/41, and the months Tishri to Nisan of Pekahiah's accession year would fall within the fiftieth year of Azariah. It is clear, therefore, that the second of the two positions postulated above is correct and that Zachariah came to the throne of Israel in Elul, 753, and terminated his reign in Adar, 752; Shallum's reign began in Adar and terminated in Nisan, 752; and Menahem ascended the throne in Nisan, 752. His accession year can thus be set at 752/51, his death in 742/41,[32] and the accession of Pekahiah in 742/41.

[32] It will be noticed that this date for Menahem, 752/51—742/41, allows for an overlap between Menahem and Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), as II Kings 15:19 and I Chron. 5:26 require there should be. The questions as to the identification of Tiglath-pileser and Pul, the exact time of Menahem's contact with Tiglath-pileser, and how the above date for Menahem can be harmonized with the dates of his successors will be dealt with in the following section.

The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel

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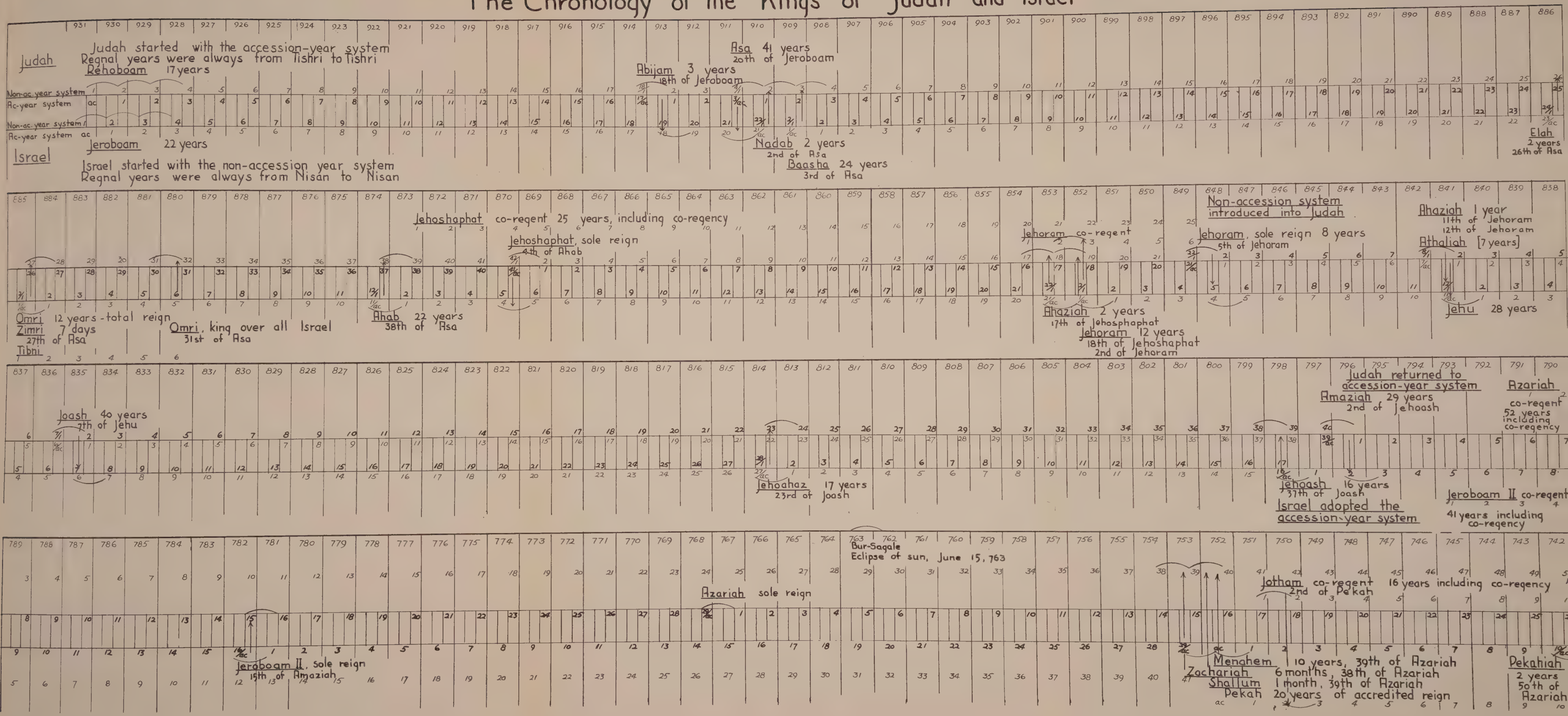

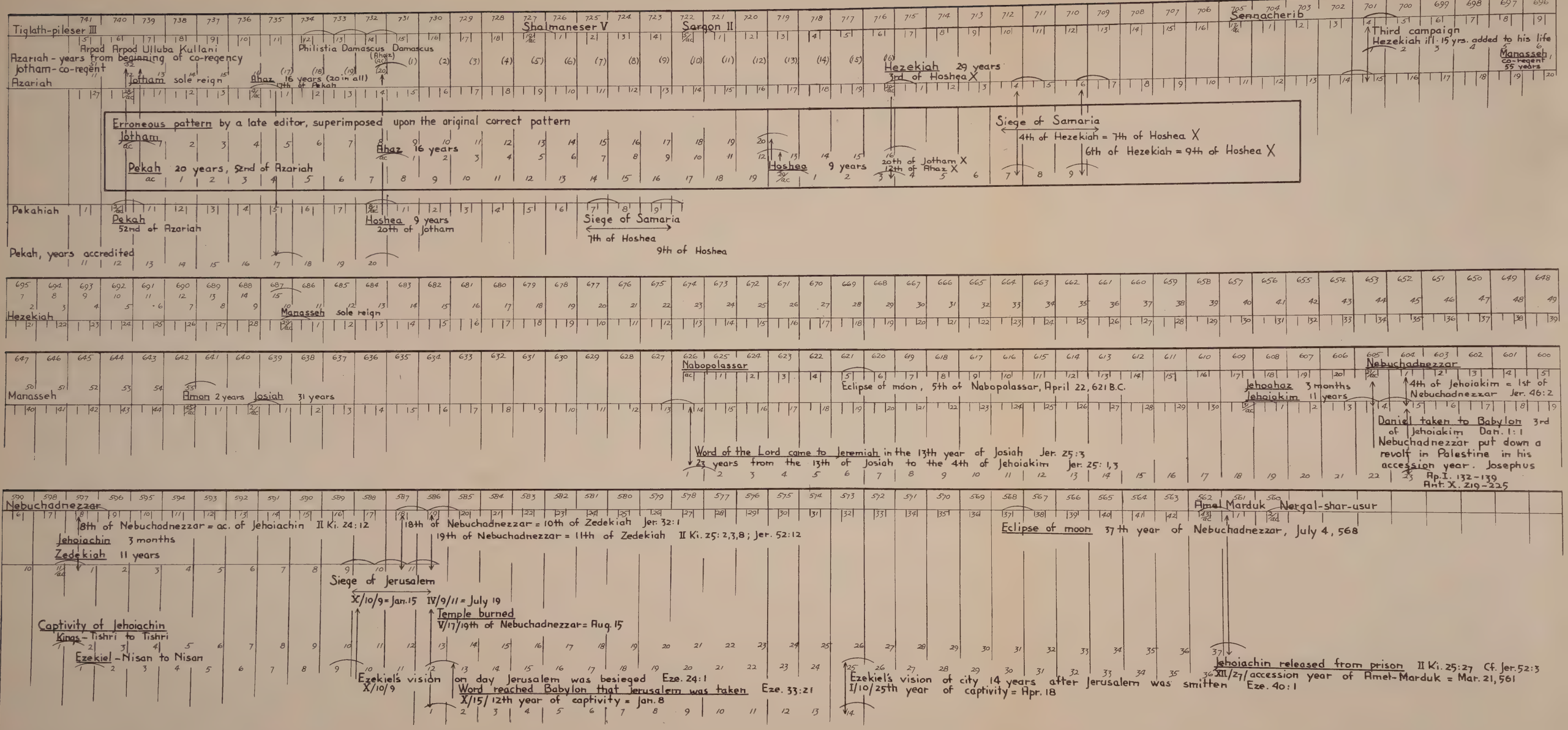
Tiglath-pileser III
Shalmaneser V
Sargon II
Sennacherib
Arpad Arpad Ulluba Kullani
Philistia Damascus Damascus
Third campaign
Hezekiah ill: 15 yrs. added to his life
Manasseh co-regent 55 years
Azariah - years from beginning of co-regency
Jotham - co-regent
Azariah
Jotham sole reign
Ahaz 16 years (20 in all)
4th of Pekah
Hezekiah 29 years
3rd of Hoshea X
Erroneous pattern by a late editor, superimposed upon the original correct pattern
Jotham
Ahaz 16 years
Pekah 20 years, 52nd of Azariah
Hoshea 9 years
20th of Jotham X
12th of Ahaz X
Siege of Samaria
4th of Hezekiah = 7th of Hoshea X
6th of Hezekiah = 9th of Hoshea X
Pekahiah
Pekah
52nd of Azariah
Hoshea 9 years
20th of Jotham
Siege of Samaria
7th of Hoshea
9th of Hoshea
Pekah, years accredited
Hezekiah
Manasseh sole reign
Manasseh
Amon 2 years
Josiah 31 years
Nabopolassar
Eclipse of moon, 5th of Nabopolassar, April 22, 621 B.C.
Nebuchadnezzar
Jehoahaz 3 months
Jehoiakim 11 years
4th of Jehoiakim = 1st of Nebuchadnezzar Jer. 46:2
Daniel taken to Babylon 3rd of Jehoiakim Dan. 1:1
Nebuchadnezzar put down a revolt in Palestine in his accession year. Josephus Ap. I. 132-139 Ant. X. 219-225
Word of the Lord came to Jeremiah in the 13th year of Josiah Jer. 25:3
23 years from the 13th of Josiah to the 4th of Jehoiakim Jer. 25: 1,3
Nebuchadnezzar
Amel Marduk
Nergal-shar-usur
8th of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12
18th of Nebuchadnezzar = 10th of Zedekiah Jer. 32:1
19th of Nebuchadnezzar = 11th of Zedekiah II Ki. 25: 2,3,8; Jer. 52:12
Eclipse of moon 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, July 4, 568
Jehoiachin 3 months
Zedekiah 11 years
Siege of Jerusalem
X/10/9 = Jan. 15
IV/9/11 = July 19
Temple burned
V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15
Captivity of Jehoiachin
Kings - Tishri to Tishri
Ezekiel - Nisan to Nisan
Ezekiel's vision on day Jerusalem was besieged Eze. 24:1
X/10/9
Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem was taken Eze. 33:21
X/15/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8
Ezekiel's vision of city 14 years after Jerusalem was smitten Eze. 40:1
I/10/25th year of captivity = Apr. 18
Jehoiachin released from prison II Ki. 25:27 Cf. Jer. 52:3
XII/27/accession year of Amel-Marduk = Mar. 21, 561

Pekahiah ruled two years (II Kings 15:23) to 740/39. Since his accession year synchronized with the fiftieth year of Azariah, his second and final year would synchronize with the fifty-second year of Azariah, who ruled fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2; II Chron. 26:3) to 740/39.

It will be noted that all the reckoning thus far of the kings of Israel and Judah has been strictly according to the data supplied by the Massoretic text. The chronology of each nation is so closely interlocked with the other by the data given that a very rigid reconstruction is necessary. Even the slightest shift, one way or the other, of any particular item would necessitate other adjustments elsewhere which would lead to more and still more discrepancies, and the errors, once introduced, would grow ever more serious until at length a point would be reached where nothing remained but the wreckage of a once harmonious scheme. In the present reconstruction, based strictly upon the data of the Massoretic text, it will be noticed that thus far internal harmony at least has been preserved.

IV. THE CONTACTS OF TIGLATH-PILESER III WITH AZARIAH AND MENAHEM

If the chronological outline that has just been presented is indeed the absolute chronology of Israel and Judah for the period in question, then we must expect exact synchronisms with the absolute chronology of Assyria at any and all points at which precise contacts between the two nations can be established.

Unfortunately, no absolute synchronisms of definite years of Hebrew and Assyrian kings are available from this particular period, but the well-known contacts of Tiglath-pileser III with Azariah and Menahem may be of service.

One of the first questions to arise in this connection is the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III. According to II Kings 15:19, 20, Menahem paid tribute to Pul, and in I Chron. 5:26 the names of Pul and Tiglath-pileser are given as conquerors of Israel. Owing to the extreme difficulties met with in the endeavor to synchronize the biblical and Assyrian chronology of this period, certain scholars for a time took the position that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were two distinct individuals. In view of the fact, however, that Tiglath-pileser in his annals claimed the reception of tribute from Menahem[33] and that, according to the Bible, Menahem paid tribute to an Assyrian king by the name of Pul, it would seem clear that Tiglath-pileser and Pul were one and the same individual.[34] Identification of the two was long since established by Schrader,[35] and clinching proof is provided by notations from a Babylonian king list and the Babylonian Chronicle shown on the following page.[36]

It is quite clear from the impartial Babylonian testimony that there can be no question concerning the identity of Pul and Tiglath-pileser, the former being

[33] Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 770.

[34] In regard to the much-debated text I Chron. 5:26, often quoted to prove that the Bible supports the position that Pul and Tiglath-pileser III were two individuals, Horner has pointed out that, inasmuch as the Hebrew verb "carried" is here in the singular, this verse definitely conveys the idea that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were one and the same individual and that the correct translation of the *waw* introducing the epexegetical phrase concerning Tiglath-pileser should be "even." Thus the verse would read, "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria, even the spirit of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and he carried them away." As the verse is now translated in English, it is ambiguous and grammatically incorrect, for the singular pronoun "he" cannot stand as the antecedent for the plural "Pul and Tiglath-pileser." Thus this verse, instead of conveying a wrong idea concerning Pul and Tiglath-pileser, actually becomes a valuable early documentary authority for the identification of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III (see Joseph Horner, "Biblical Chronology," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX [1898], 237).

[35] *Op. cit.*, I, 218 ff.

[36] Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (5th ed.; Stuttgart, 1926), I, Part 2, 36 ff. Translation from the Babylonian Chronicle copied from a translation made from the unpublished Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. The text appears in *CT*, Vol. XXXIV, Pls. 46–47.

the name assumed by Tiglath-pileser as king of Babylon, just as Shalmaneser V was known in Babylon as Ululai. Further confirmation is given by Ptolemy's Canon, which for the seventeenth year of the Nabonassar Era, 731, gives Chinziros and Poros as the Babylonian kings. The latter name is a Persian corruption of Pul, and Chinziros is clearly Ukin-zer.

Of vital importance to our inquiry is the question as to whether the usually accepted date of 738 for Tiglath-pileser's suppression of the western uprising instigated by "Azriau of Yaudi"[37] and his reception of tribute from "Menihimmu of Samerina" does not invalidate our date of 740/39 for the termination of Azariah's reign and 742/41 as the last year of Menahem.

First, it must be admitted that, in spite of the work which has been done on the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, all reconstructions thus far rest on bases which are more or less insecure and which must in many important aspects be regarded as provisional rather than final and conclusive. In regard to the point in question, for instance—the date of Tiglath-pileser's contact with the kings of the Westland—there are factors which seem definitely to point to the year 738, but there are also factors which support an earlier year. The assumed mention of "Kullani" as restored in the section dealing with Azariah seems to date that section in the eponymy of Adad-bela-ukin, 738, when Kullani was captured; the mention of the transport of captives to Ulluba would again lend support to the same year, for the campaign of the previous year in the eponymy of Sintaklak was against Ulluba; and the fact that the section dealing with Menahem immediately precedes the section dealing with Tiglath-pileser's campaign to the northeast in his ninth year, 737, further seems to indicate that that section should be assigned to 738, the preceding year.

The force of such arguments as these, standing by themselves, cannot be gainsaid, and at first sight they might appear to be altogether convincing. The weight of their evidence, however, must be

BABYLONIAN KING LIST, COL. IV		BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE, COL. I	
Line		Line	
5.	Nabu-shum-ukin his son for 1 month and 12 days.	17.	One month and 2 days Shum-ukin reigned in Babylon.
7.	Ukin-zer . . . . 3 years.	18.	Ukin-zer . . . . cast him from the throne and seized the throne.
		19.	In the 3d year of Ukin-zer, Tiglath-pileser
		20.	when he made a descent against Akkad
		21.	devastated Bit-Amukan and captured Ukin-zer.
		22.	Three years Ukin-zer ruled as king of Babylon.
8.	Pulu for 2 [years].	23.	Tiglath-pileser seated himself on the throne in Babylon.
		24.	The 2d year Tiglath-pileser died in the month of Tebetu.

[37] The writer believes the evidence for the identification of "Azriau of Yaudi" mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions with Azariah of Judah to be entirely convincing. It is hardly likely that at the very time that Judah had such an outstanding king, possessing such marked abilities as a warrior and statesman, another state of a similar name should possess a king with a name that is almost identical and with the same outstanding characteristics. For a discussion of this side of the question see Schrader, *op. cit.*, I, 208 ff.; Howell M. Haydn, "Azariah of Judah and Tiglath-pileser III," *JBL*, XXVIII (1909), 182–99; and D. D. Luckenbill, "Azariah of Judah," *AJSL*, XLI (1925), 217–32.

judged in the light of certain other factors that have usually been overlooked. "Kullani," it must be remembered, is partially restored in the annals, and even if it should prove to be correct, it would not necessarily follow that 738 is the only time when that site might appear.[38] The mention of Ulluba is important, but it must also be remembered that that city appears a number of times in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III,[39] the dates of which are by no means finally settled, and that as early as 829, in the eponymy of Nergalilia, the campaign of the year was against Ulluba.[40] And if there is logic in the argument that the section mentioning Menahem must be dated to the eighth year simply because it immediately precedes the section of the annals dated in the ninth year, there is just as much logic in the argument that the section dealing with Azariah must be dated in the fourth year or even the third year, since it immediately follows or possibly even constitutes part of the section dealing with the third year. Further, if the sections dealing with Azariah and Menahem constitute a unit dealing with a single year, that unit would still remain a unit, whether it immediately precedes the ninth year or directly follows the third year.

Of vital importance in determining the dating of these sections is any internal evidence which might link the section with material which precedes or which follows. A careful examination of the annals reveals the fact that there exists a much closer connection of those sections mentioning Azariah and Menahem with the preceding material than with that which follows. The section dealing with Azariah begins with the following words: "[In] the course of my campaign, I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast . . . . [Azariah] of Judah, like. . . . ."[41] The annalist is here dealing with some definite campaign of Tiglath-pileser. Which campaign? Naturally that campaign which he has just been describing, and that is the campaign of his third year, 743, against Sardurri of Urartu and his sympathizers of the West.[42]

[38] The Assyrian military machine seemed never able to complete its work. Repeated campaigns against the same localities were necessary, often in quick succession. A brief glimpse at the eponym lists with notes reveals the fact that many places appear there year after year:

Hamanu:	*Bit Adini:*	*Hatti:*	*Babylonia:*	*Tabali:*	*Ulluba:*
853	857	853	851	837	829
842	856	848	850	720	739
	855	845	811		

Damascus:	*Namri:*	*Urartu:*	*Madai:*	*Arpad:*	*Itu:*
841	844	832	821	805	790
773	835	781	809	754	783
733	797	780	800	743	782
732	774	779	799	742	777
727	749	778	793	741	769
	748	776	792	740	
	744	774	789		
		743	788		
		735	786		
			766		
			737		

Mannai:	*Karne:*	*Tille:*	*Guzana:*	*Musasir:*	*Hubushkia:*
829	819	817	808	716	801
806	818	816	759	713	791
718			758		784

Kue:	*Der:*	*Hatarika:*	*Arrapha:*	*Dur Iakin:*	*Ganati:*
840	795	772	761	706	771
834	794	765	760	705	767
833		755			

If the above-mentioned places appeared so frequently as centers of the campaign of the year, it is quite evident that numerous other places must have figured in the campaigns of many years other than those for which they are officially listed.

[39] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 770, 785, 796, 814; Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 23, 47, 53, 67.

[40] *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 433.

[41] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770.

[42] The writer is well aware of the implications of the position he is here taking in regard to the correct placing and dating of this and related sections of Tiglath-pileser's annals, and he understands what this involves in the way of modification of the usually accepted view. But he believes that he is in a position to show that the Azariah and Menahem sections of the annals immediately follow and constitute an intrinsic part of the section dealing with the revolts and campaigns involving Sardurri of Urartu and Tutummu of Unki and the whole general area of the northwest, which took place in the third year and continued to be the primary scene of action until the eighth year, and that this entire period is dealt with in the annals as a

In this section is given a long list of cities of the land of Hamath which at that time were brought within the power of Assyria. This list is clearly parallel to a similar list of cities found on a twenty-four-line inscription which contains the names of cities in the lands of Enzi, Urartu, Unki, and Hamath.[43] The following cities of Hamath and the sea coast are found on both lists: Usnu, Siannu, Simirra, Hatarikka, Nukudina, Ara, Ashhani, Iadabi, Ellitarbi, and Zitanu. The fact is significant that Arpad heads the list of cities in the Westland in the account parallel to the annals. Here, then, is evidently a list of cities of the West which paid tribute or were subject to Assyria at some time when Arpad was under Assyrian power. According to the eponym lists, 743 was such a year, for in that year the king was "in" Arpad, whereas during the next three years the campaign was "against" Arpad.

In addition to the above-mentioned cities of the land of Hamath appearing in both this particular section of the annals and the parallel list, there are a number of other cities such as Gublu and Arka. There can be no question concerning the parallelism of these two lists. Of further significance to our inquiry is the fact that, prior to any of the above-mentioned cities on the parallel list, occurs the name of the city of Kulmadara. In the annals, on the other hand, prior to the above list of cities and immediately before Gublu, occurs a single "Kul" sign which Rost has restored to "Kullani," a restoration which has been widely used to date this section of the annals to 738. The natural question is whether or not the same city is not intended in both instances. The mention of Kulmadara on the one list would be a strong argument in favor of such a restoration in the annals.[44] This would, moreover, be definitely in line with other evidence to follow for the dating of this particular section of the annals to the year 743 rather than 738, which has thus far been the almost universally accepted date.

Captives from the campaign in which Azariah is mentioned were settled in Ulluba.[45] While it is true that the eponym canon of 739 records a campaign in that year against Ulluba, it is also true and possibly significant that the important Nimrud Tablet No. 1 records the capture of Ulluba and Kirhu in the lines immediately preceding those recording the revolt of Sardurri,[46] which took place in Tiglath-pileser's third year, 743.[47] On Nimrud Slab No. 1 the conquest of Ulluba is once more dealt with in the same section relating the revolt of Sardurri.[48] And on Nimrud Slab No. 2 the conquest of Ulluba is again closely associated with the conquest of

single unit without being broken up into individual years, to be directly followed by the next unit of the ninth year when the focus of action shifted to the northeast. This is a question so broad and so far-reaching that it cannot be dealt with here, but it is a matter with which the writer plans to deal in a future presentation.

[43] III R, 10, No. 3; cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 821; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85.

[44] A single sign for "Kul" appears in the annals, but on III R, 10, No. 3, two signs are employed, "Ku-ul," although it should be noted that Rost's transliteration of these signs is mistakenly given as "Kul" instead of "Ku-ul" and that in this mistake he has been followed by many writers (cf. Rost, *op. cit.*, I, 85, and *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. XXVII). Such a variation could not be urged as a valid objection, however, for the variant Ku-ul for Kul would be altogether possible, such variations being a common practice in Assyrian inscriptions, here as well as elsewhere. Still another objection that might be raised is that the spacing on Rost's autographic copy of Layard, between the "Kul" sign of Kullani and the final "lu" of [Gu-ub]-lu—a space now a blank—would seem to favor the restoration of five signs rather than the six that would be necessary if Kulmadara rather than Kullani were to be restored. A careful comparison of Rost's spacing with the spacing of inscriptions still extant shows frequent variations, and there is thus no certainty that these six signs might not be inserted in the necessary space of the original inscription, if that were now available.

[45] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 133.

[46] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 796, 797; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 66, ll. 43 ff.

[47] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 59.

[48] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 25.

Sardurri.[49] Certain it is that all the events having to do with the conquest of Urartu, Ulluba, Kirhu, and Mount Nal do not belong to a single campaign or a single year. But also it is certain that the exact sequence of these events has not been revealed, that any modern detailed reconstructions are largely arbitrary and tentative, and that we must await evidence which is not at present forthcoming before a full picture can be drawn which is to be regarded as altogether final.

It should be noticed that while there is no evidence that would exclude Ulluba from the great campaign against Sardurri in Tiglath-pileser's third year, there is evidence in each of the above-mentioned inscriptions wherein Ulluba is named, indicating that that city may in all probability have occupied some part in the campaign of 743. First of all, the annals in opening the account of the third year report the revolt of Sardurri and his allies and the crushing defeat of the same, with 72,950 captives taken.[50] And it is the very next section opening with the words "in the course of my campaign"—evidently continuing the account of the same campaign—which mentioned the settling in Ulluba of 1,223 captives taken from among Azariah's allies.[51]

The point is often stressed that events on inscriptional material of the so-called "Prunkinschriften" group are arranged not in chronological but in geographical order,[52] and on these grounds the effort may be made to rule out any chronological significance of the mention of Ulluba in connection with Sardurri's revolt on the other inscriptions mentioned. But a careful comparison of these inscriptions with the eponym lists and the annals reveals striking parallels in arrangement on all these accounts. Using the numbers of the sections as they are given by Luckenbill, the arrangement is as shown on the following page.

With such a pattern before us it would be difficult, indeed, to argue that the eponym lists and annals are arranged in chronological order, but that the Nimrud tablet and slabs are not arranged in such an order; for the order is identical. It is particularly unfortunate that there should be such a large break of approximately a hundred lines in the Nimrud tablet and that this break should come just where it does, for the missing section, as Olmstead has suggested,[53] must have contained most of the Urartu account and an account of the events in Syria during the campaign against Arpad. Then, again in all probability, came a continuation of the campaign of the seventh year against Ulluba, the eighth year against Kullani, the ninth year against the Medes, and the tenth and eleventh years against Mount Nal and Urartu. If only this section of the tablet were complete, we would no doubt have light on the questions with which we are here particularly concerned. But enough of the tablet remains to indicate that its essential arrangement, as well as that of the Nimrud slabs, is chronological, and the argument that the mention of Ulluba on all three of these inscriptions is out of its correct chronological order is hardly warranted.[54]

[49] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 813, 814; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 53, l. 41.

[50] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 66.

[51] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 133.

[52] Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Abraham S. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser III* (New York, 1912), p. 3; A. T. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* (Columbia, Mo., 1916), pp. 33–34; Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1925), II, 371.

[53] Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, p. 34.

[54] The fact that the eponym list mentions a campaign against Sapia for 731 and that the Babylonian Chronicle mentions a march by Tiglath-pileser against Akkad in the third year of Ukinzer (I:19–21), 729 B.C., may be raised as an argument against a campaign by Tiglath-pileser in his first year against Sapia, as would be indicated by the mention of Sapia in the first part of the Nimrud tablet, if the arrangement of

		Eponym List	Annals	Nimrud Tablet No. 1	Nimrud Slab No. 1	Nimrud Slab No. 2
To Babylonia:						
Yr. B.C.			Sec. No.	Sec. No.	Sec. No.	Sec. No.
745	1st yr.	Between rivers	762 Babylonia	788 Babylonia	782 Babylonia	809 Babylonia
			763 Babylonia	789 Babylonia	783 Babylonia	810 Babylonia
			764 Babylonia	790 Babylonia		811 Babylonia
			765 Babylonia	791 Babylonia		
				792 Babylonia		
				793 Babylonia		
				794 Babylonia		
To Northeast:						
744	2d yr.	Against Namri	766 Northeast	795 Northeast	784 Northeast	812 Northeast
			767 Northeast			
			768 Northeast			
To Northwest and West:						
743	3d yr.	In Arpad	769 Northwest	796 Northwest	785 Northwest	813 Northwest
		Urartu revolt	770 Northwest	797 Northwest		814 Northwest
742	4th yr.	Against Arpad	771 Northwest	Break in tablet; about 100 lines missing		
741	5th yr.	Against Arpad	772 Northwest			
740	6th yr.	Against Arpad				
739	7th yr.	Against Ulluba				
738	8th yr.	Kullani captured				
To Northeast:						
737	9th yr.	Against Madai	773 Northeast			
			774 Northeast			
			775*a* Northeast			
To Northwest and West:						
736	10th yr.	To Mount Nal	775*b* Northwest			
735	11th yr.	Against Urartu	776 Northwest			
734	12th yr.	Against Pilista	777 West	798 West		
733	13th yr.	Against Damascus	778 West	799 West		
732	14th yr.	Against Damascus	779 West	800 West		
				801 West		
To Babylonia:						
731	15th yr.	Against Sapia				
King in Assyria:						
730	16th yr.	In the land		802 Rab-shaku to West		
				803 Rab-shaku to West		
				804 Palace built		

That Tiglath-pileser's campaign of his third year against Urartu did indeed cover a large extent of that country can be learned from the names of three cities, Kukusanshu, Harbisina, and Izzeda, evidently conquered by him, which are found in a section of the annals placed by Rost and followed by Luckenbill, immediately after the section giving a description of Sardurri's flight and the capture of his camp.[55] Both Izzeda and Kukusanshu are included in the list of cities (III R, 10, No. 3) of the lands of Enzi and Urartu.[56] An idea of the location of these cities may be gained from the inclusion among them of the city of Parisu, a site which on Nimrud Slab No. 1 is listed as one of the strongholds of Urartu, back of Mount Nal, in the land of Ulluba.[57] Harbisina is included among the strongholds of Urartu listed on Nimrud Slab No. 1 as captured by Tiglath-pileser.[58] This particular group of strongholds immediately follows the mention of Ulluba.

In brief, a careful survey of the section of the annals dealing with Azariah makes it clear that this section demands a time when the king is present in the West, when his campaign is thought of as a continuation of the campaign of his third year against Urartu, and when Arpad is under Assyrian power. The year 743 meets all these requirements.

That the section of the annals dealing with the payment of tribute from Menahem dates from the same year as the section dealing with Azariah is generally acknowledged.[59] That these two sections were very closely associated in Tiglath-pileser's annals and that the Menahem section immediately followed the Azariah section is proved by the fact that the last line of a fragment of one version of the annals which was written across a group of figures, Plate XXI in Rost, is the first line of a column of the twelve-line version, Plate XV in Rost. This is line 141 of the annals as arranged by Rost. Of great service in helping to date the Menahem section are lists of places from which and to which captives were transported at that time. Captives were usually transported at the time of conquest or very soon thereafter. At the time of the suppression of the uprising of the western allies, Usnu, Siannu, and Simirra are listed among the cities subdued.[60] We have just seen that there are indications that this was the year 743. The same three cities are included in a group of cities on the sea coast,[61] in which captives were settled at the time of the reception of tribute from Menahem.[62] Among the captives transported were

this tablet were on a strictly chronological basis. While the possibility exists that Tiglath-pileser may have made some move against Amukani as early as the first year of his reign, it could also very well be that the above item has been removed from its correct chronological setting. But this would not vitiate the tablet's essential chronological arrangement, although it would lend some force to the argument that other items also might have been removed from their exact chronological setting. Every Assyriologist, however, is aware of the weaknesses inherent in the royal documents of Assyria, including chronological items in the royal annals (cf. A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722–705 B.C.* [New York, 1908], pp. 2 ff., and *Assyrian Historiography;* Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 7). The above tabulation, however, is sufficient proof of the basic chronological arrangement of the items on Nimrud Tablet No. 1, and, although we do not claim for it perfection, we believe that unless more evidence is forthcoming than up to the present has been produced, its testimony may be accepted as an indication that Ulluba played some part in the great northwestern campaign of Tiglath-pileser's third year.

[55] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff., ll. 77 ff.

[56] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 820; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 84, ll. 1, 17.

[57] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 26.

[58] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 28.

[59] Sidney Smith, *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1929), III, 37; H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (9th ed. rev.; London, 1936), pp. 463–64.

[60] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770.

[61] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

[62] Rost, *op. cit.;* Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

5,400 from the city of Dur,[63] and 588 Budeans, Duneans, and others.[64] Tiglath-pileser's campaign into Babylonia took place in his first year, at which time Budu was one of the lands overcome.[65] Three times captives are mentioned from Bit-Sangibuti.[66] Tiglath-pileser's march to the northeast where Bit-Sangibuti was located took place in his second year, in the eponymy of Bel-dan, 744, when the campaign of the year was "against the land of Namri."[67] On Nimrud Tablet No. 1 is a section evidently dealing with the campaign of this second year.[68] The land Namri heads this list and Bit-Sangibuti comes next. Many names on this list, such as Bit-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Bit Kapsi, Bit Sangi, Ariarma, and Tar-lugale, are common to a list of places mentioned in the annals as subdued by Tiglath-pileser in his campaign against the northeast in his second year.[69] With Bit-Sangibuti coming into Assyrian hands in Tiglath-pileser's second year, 744, a transfer of these captives to cities of the West would be a logical procedure the following year. This section of the Nimrud tablet, moreover, immediately precedes the section dealing with the campaign against Ulluba, Kirhu, and Urartu.

Still more to the point is a list of cities in the land of Unki—Kunalia, Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra, and Sagillu—in which transported captives were settled.[70] The capture of Kunalia, capital of the land of Unki, and the subjugation of that country took place in the third year of Tiglath-pileser.[71] Mention has already been made above of a list of cities of the West and Northwest (III R, 10, No. 3), which on other grounds we have dated to the third year. One group of these cities—in all probability cities which were paying tribute to the Assyrian king—is from the land of Unki.[72] With Unki brought into subjection in the third year of Tiglath-pileser, it would again be a logical procedure to transport captives there either that year or very soon thereafter.

Yet again, among those listed with Menahem as paying tribute to Assyria are the following: Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Rasunnu of Damascus, Hirummu of Tyre, Urikki of Kue, Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarhulara of Gurgum, and Sulumal of Melid.[73] All these are likewise among the rulers of the West listed by Tiglath-pileser as having been subdued and paying tribute on the occasion of his campaign against Urartu in his third year.[74] Of particular interest in this connection is mention of the fact that the reception of tribute from this latter group was "in Arpad."[75] It will be remembered that Tiglath-pileser was "in Arpad," according to the eponym canon, in this important year, 743.

Inasmuch, then, as the places from which captives were transported at the time of Menahem's payment of tribute to Tiglath-pileser were places captured in or shortly prior to his third year, inasmuch as the same is true of the places in which

[63] Rost, *op. cit.*; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

[64] Rost, *op. cit.*, l. 146; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

[65] Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 4, l. 14; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 764.

[66] Rost, *op. cit.*, ll. 145, 148, 149; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

[67] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 436.

[68] Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 62, l. 29; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 795.

[69] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–13; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 766–68.

[70] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25, ll. 144–45; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

[71] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17, ll. 92 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

[72] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 821; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[73] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27, ll. 150 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

[74] Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, ll. 61 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

[75] Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 16, l. 91; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

these captives were settled, and inasmuch as the tribute-payers of that year were the same group that paid tribute "in Arpad" in Tiglath-pileser's third year, it seems only logical to conclude that this section of the annals dealing with Menahem's payment of tribute must be closely related to the third year. And, while there are such definite connections of this section with the third year, the internal evidence shows no such connection with the material of the ninth year, which immediately follows.

Although the available evidence does not permit us to speak with absolute finality as to just when the western uprising sponsored by Azariah of Judah was put down and when Menahem of Samaria paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser, the abovementioned evidence points more definitely to the neighborhood of the year 743 than to the usually accepted date, 738. This date would be quite in keeping with terminal dates of 742/41 for Menahem and 740/39 for Azariah, as called for by the present reconstruction of the reigns of the Hebrew kings.

V. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, 740–716 B.C.

The period we are about to enter upon bristles with difficulties, both internal and external. It is here that the most baffling problems of Hebrew chronology are to be encountered. Every student is aware of the impossibility of harmonizing all the statements of the Massoretic text with the evidence furnished by the Assyrian inscriptions. Almost every type of adjustment has been attempted in the biblical data for this period in the many chronological systems that are now afield, yet the final solution has not been produced. Schrader, in setting forth the internal and external difficulties of this period, declares:

> There gapes here a chronological discrepancy which refuses to be explained away. If the Assyrian chronology, certified, as we have said, five-fold, be the correct one, the Biblical cannot be correct. . . . . But if the Biblical chronology is to be rejected in the statements that have reference to the later period, i.e., the period which lies nearer to the chronicler, how are we justified in assuming for the earlier period a greater trustworthiness, open as it is to still other grounds of objection?[76]

And yet again:

> Unfortunately we cease to feel confidence in the scriptural computation just at the point where a comparison with another chronological system is rendered possible. . . . . It is therefore in the most recent period of chronology that our verdict must be pronounced against the scriptural system, though we should have expected the most trustworthy and unassailable statements with respect to that period. The system must, however, be abandoned in presence of the corresponding statements of the monuments and the eponym canon.[77]

To Schrader it appeared quite certain that some shift somewhere would have to be made if harmony was to be secured, but concerning the introduction of proposed adjustments he declared: "But this again destroys the entire synchronism of Judean and Israelite history, for in these annals everything is so closely dovetailed together that, if we remove a single stone, the entire structure tumbles to pieces."[78]

Difficult problems indeed exist, into all the intricacies of which we cannot enter here;[79] but, if their correct solution can be found, it is altogether possible that the material even from this period will have much of value for the chronologist.

We will proceed with the data as given in the Massoretic text. The last two as-

[76] *Op. cit.*, I, 213.

[77] *Ibid.*, II, 164–65.

[78] *Ibid.*, I, 217.

[79] For a presentation of some of these difficulties see Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff.; Karl Chr. W. F. Bähr, *The Books of the Kings*, Book II, pp. 160 ff.

certained dates in our study were the terminal dates of Azariah and Pekahiah in 740/39. Azariah was succeeded by his son Jotham in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). Jotham's reign is declared to have been sixteen years (II Kings 15:33), but according to the chronological picture given us of Israel for this period, Hoshea came to the throne in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30) and the twelfth year of Ahaz, son and successor of Jotham (II Kings 17:1), whose reign also was sixteen years (II Kings 16:2). This pattern calls for a twenty-year reign for Jotham, from 740/39 to 720/19, the last twelve of which, however, were contemporaneous with those of his son Ahaz (732/31 to 720/19). Ahaz completed the remaining four of his sixteen years in 716/15, at which time occurred the accession of his son Hezekiah (II Kings 18:1).

This date for the accession of Hezekiah is of vital importance, for it provides an opportunity of testing another exact synchronism between a Hebrew and an Assyrian king. It was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah that Sennacherib made his famous attack on Judea (II Kings 18:13). This was in 701, both according to the chronological scheme we have just presented and according to Assyrian sources.[80] The last previous precise synchronisms with Assyria occurred in 853 and 841. The fact that the independent records of both the Hebrews and the Assyrians give us precisely the same figure of a hundred and forty years for the interval in question gives us confidence that we are here dealing with an absolute chronology in the case both of the Hebrews and of the Assyrians.

The one fact of vital importance which emerges from the above picture is that the scribe who presented it was in possession of data which showed that there was an interval of just twenty-four years between the death of Azariah and the accession of Hezekiah. But there are also indications that his understanding of the total picture for this period was not entirely clear. The synchronisms which he gives between Hezekiah and Hoshea, for instance, provide for impossible datings for the siege and capture of Samaria, from the seventh to the ninth years of Hoshea and the fourth to the sixth years of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:9, 10), for this siege was begun by Shalmaneser V (II Kings 18:9), who reigned from 727 to 722, and it was Sargon II (722–705) who claimed the capture of Samaria in his accession year,[81] while Hezekiah did not begin his reign until 716/15.

In view of the definite evidence of confusion somewhere in the chronological picture of this particular period, the task before us is to make note of every item that seems to be unsustained and every item that is well grounded and then, separating the two, to endeavor to reconstruct the picture in its original harmony and at the same time to account for the note of discordance that crept in. Already we have noticed that there are indications that the synchronisms of II Kings 18:9 and 10 call for an impossible picture.

It has long been evident that very serious difficulties center about the reign of Pekah. The final year of Menahem cannot be placed earlier than 743, the third year of Tiglath-pileser III, when the latter first appeared in the West. That being the case, the accession of Pekahiah cannot come earlier than 743, nor can Pekah's assassination of Pekahiah and his seizure of the throne be dated earlier than 741. And if Pekah's years of reign are to be counted from the latter date, then his

[80] D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 10 ff.

[81] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, sec. 4.

seventeenth year and the accession of Ahaz (II Kings 16:1), could not come earlier than 724. Such a date would be altogether too late for Ahaz, for by that time Tiglath-pileser had already passed from the scene, his terminal year being 727, and thus the contacts of Ahaz with Tiglath-pileser, called for by both the biblical and the Assyrian sources, would be impossible. So it is clear either that the synchronism of II Kings 16:1 is incorrect or that Pekah, if the figure of twenty years for his reign is correct, must have begun numbering his years from some time prior to 741.

Upon the death of Azariah, his son Jotham assumed his position as sole ruler of Judah (II Kings 15:7), having, however, for some time prior to that ruled as coregent with his father (II Kings 15:5). Since Azariah ruled fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2), Jotham's accession as sole ruler took place in the fifty-second year of Azariah. It is also stated that Pekah came to the throne in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27). But the accession of Jotham is declared to have taken place in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). That being the case, there would either be a gap between the death of Azariah and the accession of his son Jotham, or the synchronism of II Kings 15:32 is wrong, or the years of Pekah must be numbered from some time prior to the fifty-second year of Azariah, 740/39. The first possibility can immediately be ruled out, for it is quite certain that there was no gap between the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham. Concerning the third possibility, we have seen in the previous paragraph that the requirements of contemporary history make necessary the numbering of Pekah's years from some time prior to 741 or the conclusion that II Kings 16:1 is in error. Since there are these two indications that it might be necessary to push back the numbering of the years of Pekah's reign to some time prior to 741 or 740, the probabilities are that the correct solution will be found in that direction. In such a case there would be no evidence that there is anything wrong with the synchronisms of either II Kings 16:1 or 15:32.

In the recorded pattern for this period the accession of Hezekiah took place in the third year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:1). Inasmuch as Hezekiah succeeded his father Ahaz (II Kings 16:20), and since Ahaz is said to have ruled sixteen years (II Kings 16:2), the sixteenth year of Ahaz synchronized with the third year of Hoshea. The ninth and last year of Hoshea must have been very close to 722 B.C., for Sargon claims the capture of Samaria in his accession year; consequently, the third year of Hoshea must be about 728. But 728 can hardly be the sixteenth year of Ahaz, for that would bring his accession in 744, at which time Azariah was still alive and his son Jotham was reigning conjointly with him. Inasmuch as this construction is based on the synchronism of II Kings 18:1, the indications are that that synchronism, together with those of II Kings 18:9 and 10, is open to question.

Going further, if the sixteenth year of Ahaz is the third year of Hoshea, then the thirteenth year of Ahaz would synchronize with the accession year of Hoshea. Hoshea took the throne by the assassination of Pekah (II Kings 15:30), and Pekah is said to have ruled twenty years (II Kings 15:27). The twentieth year of Pekah would then synchronize with the thirteenth year of Ahaz. But in such a case the accession year of Ahaz would synchronize with the seventh year of Pekah and not with his seventeenth year, as II Kings 16:1 declares. It is thus evident that if the synchronism of II Kings 16:1 is correct, that of II Kings

18:1, upon which the above pattern was reconstructed, cannot be. And, inasmuch as we have already had one indication that the synchronism of II Kings 18:1 is open to question and no indication that that of II Kings 16:1 is in error, the safe course is to proceed on the assumption of the reliability of II Kings 16:1. Had that synchronism been followed, the above erroneous picture would not have developed.

Still further, the accession of Hoshea is said to have taken place in both the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1) and the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30). Since Pekah ruled twenty years (II Kings 15:27), and since he was succeeded by Hoshea, then the twentieth year of Pekah would synchronize with the twentieth year of Jotham. That being the case, the accession of Jotham would synchronize with the accession of Pekah and not with the latter's second year, as II Kings 15:32 declares. One of the following three synchronisms must therefore be incorrect:

Ahaz 12 = Hoshea ac. (II Kings 17:1)
Jotham 20 = Hoshea ac. (II Kings 15:30)
Jotham ac. = Pekah 2 (II Kings 15:32)

In the previous erroneous picture we found no indication of error in II Kings 15:32, so the probabilities are that the difficulty will be found in either II Kings 17:1 or 15:30. Since the evidence of contemporary history indicates that Hoshea's ninth and last year must have occurred about 722, his accession must have taken place about 731. If that is the twentieth year of Jotham, his accession year would be about 751. And since the final year of Azariah was 740/39, the above date would be altogether possible for the beginning of Jotham's coreign with his father. There is, therefore, no evidence of error in II Kings 15:30. If, however, 731 is the twelfth year of Ahaz, then his accession year would be 743, at which time Azariah was still king of Judah and Jotham was his coregent, and there is no place in the picture for Ahaz. Thus the indications are that the difficulty lies with the synchronism of II Kings 17:1. If the synchronism of II Kings 15:32 had been employed, the above erroneous pattern would not have developed, so the indications are that this synchronism, together with that of II Kings 16:1, is to play a major role in the correct reconstruction of the chronology of this period.

The age relationships of Ahaz and Hezekiah should likewise be noticed. Ahaz came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1), at which time he was twenty years old (II Kings 16:2). In Pekah's twentieth and last year (II Kings 15:27), Ahaz would thus be twenty-three years of age. Pekah was slain and succeeded by Hoshea (II Kings 15:30). If Ahaz was twenty-three years old in the accession year of Hoshea, then he was twenty-six or possibly twenty-seven years old in Hoshea's third year. Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, was twenty-five years old when he took the throne (II Kings 18:2), and according to II Kings 18:1 this was in the third year of Hoshea. In such a case, however, Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when his father Ahaz was only twenty-six or twenty-seven! Either the ages given for Ahaz and Hezekiah are wrong, or Ahaz began to reign earlier than is indicated by the synchronism of II Kings 16:1, or Hezekiah later than is indicated by II Kings 18:1. Inasmuch as we have had no reason so far to question the validity of II Kings 16:1, but since on other grounds we have had reason to question the correctness of the synchronism of II Kings 18:1, the indications are again that it is in this latter synchronism where the difficulty will be found.

A study of the relationships of Assyria with Israel and Judah at this time should be of great assistance in the establishment of the correct chronology for this period. According to the biblical record, Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel made a joint attack upon Ahaz at Jerusalem (II Kings 16:5). Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser for aid, whereupon the latter came against Syria, captured Damascus, and slew Rezin (II Kings 16:7–9). This Old Testament account finds confirmation in the Assyrian inscriptions, for according to Tiglath-pileser's annals, in a campaign which he made against the West at some time after his ninth year, he marched against Rezin and wrought great devastation in Syria.[82] In this campaign reference is made to Samaria, but the exact details are not clear owing to the damaged state of the inscription. Ashkelon is also mentioned. On the Nimrud Tablet, Tiglath-pileser claims the receipt of tribute from Ahaz of Judah and from the Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Gaza.[83] And in a fragmentary annal he declares that the people of Bit-Humria deposed Pekah their king and that he placed Hoshea upon their throne.[84] These inscriptions do not give the exact time of the above events, but they indicate that they must have taken place in the latter part of Tiglath-pileser's reign. The eponym canon, however, supplies these details, for according to this record the campaign of the twelfth year, 734, was against Philistia, and in 733 and 732 against Damascus.

It thus appears altogether probable that the final year of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea must come about 732, at the conclusion of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against Damascus, for this victory by Tiglath-pileser against the western allies would no doubt have some bearing upon the overthrow of the anti-Assyrian Pekah and the establishment of Hoshea as Israel's vassal king to Assyria. Such a date would also be in keeping with a nine-year reign of Hoshea terminating at the fall of Samaria, which capture Sargon claimed to have effected at the time of his accession, 722/21. Ahaz must definitely be in the picture during the years 734–732, when Tiglath-pileser conducted his campaigns against Philistia and Damascus, and his accession can therefore hardly be placed later than 734. Azariah, as we have seen, terminated his reign in 740/39. Jotham must have reigned at least three years in his own right (II Chron. 27:5), and the accession of Ahaz can therefore hardly have taken place earlier than 737. It thus seems quite certain that Ahaz came to the throne some time between 737 and 734. And if the accession of Ahaz is to be synchronized with the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1), then Pekah's reign must be reckoned from about the middle of the eighth century B.C.

Ahaz was twenty years old when he took the throne (II Kings 16:2). If this is true, and if he came to the throne about 737–734, his son Hezekiah could not at that time have been more than about four or five years of age. And if it is true that Hezekiah was twenty-five years old at his accession (II Kings 18:2), then his accession must have taken place about twenty years later than 737–734, or in the neighborhood of 717–714. This would be in harmony with the accession date of 716/15 previously secured for Hezekiah, but it would again point to the fact that Hoshea and Hezekiah could not have been contemporaneous and that the synchronisms of II Kings 18:1, 9, and 10 are in error.

The above gives us some idea of what the final pattern of Hebrew chronology for this period must be when the now tangled

[82] *Ibid.*, secs. 773, 777, 779.

[83] *Ibid.*, sec. 801.

[84] *Ibid.*, sec. 816.

threads are brought back into harmony. The task before us is to re-examine the chronological data for this period and, making use of such items as we know to be correct, to endeavor to reconstruct the original historical pattern.

In the production of the above pattern, we saw that the accession of Jotham in 740/39 was begun with the fifty-second and final year of his father Azariah. But we also saw that, in doing this, the information of II Kings 15:32 —that Jotham began to reign in the second year of Pekah —was neglected. Pekah, it is stated, began to reign in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27), 740/39. But if he came to the throne in the final year of Azariah and if that year was counted as his accession year, then his second year, when Jotham came to the throne, would not occur until two years after the death of Azariah. Can it be that Jotham did not begin to reign until two years after his father's death? A gap of two years between the termination of the reign of Azariah and the beginning of that of Jotham is unthinkable. Not only was there no such gap but there is explicit information that, before the death of Azariah, the latter, a leper, abode in his own house and that the kingdom was already ruled by Jotham (II Kings 15:5). But, as has been the case in all previous coregencies of the Hebrew kings, the beginning of Jotham's coregency is not expressed in terms of the years of his father. The beginning of a coregency is, however, often expressed in terms of a synchronism with the ruler of the neighboring state. Can it be that II Kings 15:32 gives us the beginning of Jotham's coregency in terms of a year of Pekah's reign?

It should be noticed that if the statement of II Kings 15:32 is true—that Jotham began to reign in the second year of Pekah—it is conveying to us the very interesting information that Pekah must in some form have begun counting the years of his reign from some time prior to his actual taking the throne on the occasion of his overthrow of Pekahiah in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:25, 27). This would be true if the beginning of Jotham's reign just referred to was the beginning of his sole reign, but it would be all the more true if this were the beginning of his coregency. Unfortunately, however, no information is available from Israelitish sources as to just when Pekah might have begun numbering the years of his reign; and, if this information is to be secured, we have no recourse but to turn back to the meager information from Judah.

It has already been ascertained that the scribe who left the previous picture of the period under discussion was in possession of information which showed the interval between the death of Azariah and the accession of Hezekiah to be twenty-four years. And we also know that in dealing with this period the endeavor was made to compress twenty years for Jotham (II Kings 15:30) and sixteen years for Ahaz (II Kings 15:33) within the compass of this twenty-four years. In order to do so, however, it was necessary to postulate an overlapping of twelve years of the reign of Ahaz with that of his father Jotham (II Kings 15:30; 17:1). But there is no certainty that such an overlap occurred, and the picture which we found to be faulty in other details might conceivably have been faulty in this. Without such an overlap, according to the sources our informant was using, the total period from the accession of Jotham as coregent with his father Azariah to the death of Ahaz would have been thirty-six years, inclusive reckoning, rather than twenty-four. And being already in possession of the terminal date 716/15 for the

death of Ahaz, this would provide the date 751/50 as the beginning of Jotham's coregency. We have, as yet, no certainty that this figure is correct, but we will proceed on this basis and let the forthcoming picture determine our decision concerning its validity.

Given Tishri, 751, to Tishri, 750, as the accession year of Jotham, then we should find a synchronism somewhere within this year with the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). Nisan, 750, to Nisan, 749, would provide such a synchronism and may be tried as the second year of Pekah. If 750/49 is the second year of Pekah, then 752/51 would be his accession year. But that year, we have previously ascertained, is the accession year of Menahem, father of Pekahiah, whom Pekah overthrew and whose throne he seized for himself (II Kings 15:25).

If the above chronology is correct, we are here brought face to face with a very interesting problem—the reason why Pekah should choose to begin counting the years of his reign not from the time when he overthrew Pekahiah and seized his throne but from the time when Pekahiah's father, Menahem, previously overthrew Shallum and took the kingdom (II Kings 15:14). No answer to this question, of course, is left on record, and we can only surmise what it might be. The supposition that, during the reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah, Pekah might have been ruling over part of the troubled land of Israel as a rival king is ruled out by the fact that Pekah was an important officer in the court of Pekahiah, his *šālîš* (II Kings 15:25).[85] It is possible that, at the court of Menahem, Pekah was already a person of some prominence, and it might be that, at the time of Menahem's seizure of the throne, Pekah was one of the co-conspirators. Now, having taken it upon himself to wipe out the house of Menahem, Pekah may have decided to take to himself the credit for the years that that house had ruled. And having begun to count the years of his reign in this manner, a southern scribe when later working out the synchronisms for this period of the kings of Judah with those of Israel, may have accepted Pekah's unusual form of reckoning for that king. It will be recalled that just prior to this period the kings of both Israel and Judah, Jeroboam II and Azariah, had been reckoning their years of rule not from the beginning of their sole reigns but from the commencement of their respective coregencies, and that each nation extended to the other the courtesy of accepting this method of reckoning when expressing synchronisms in terms of the years of each other's kings. So there existed at least half a century of precedent of kings beginning to number their years not from the commencement of their sole

[85] The term *šalšu* appears quite frequently in the Assyrian records, and its various usages in the seventh century B.C. are discussed at some length by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, 1901), II, 114 ff. While at times the term was used to indicate some officer who was definitely third in rank in relationship to some other officer, it is nearly always used in an absolute sense simply to indicate some officer or official, without evidence of any other officer to whom he was next in relationship. The exact meaning of the term among the Hebrews is obscure, but the *šālîš* was evidently a person of some prominence. At an early period in the history of Israel the term may have been used for some military officer, for when the names of David's heroes were listed, the first name to appear was that of "Ishbaal the Hachmonite, who was leader of the Three" (II Sam. 23:8, American Translation). In the case of Jehoram, the *šālîš* was evidently the right-hand man of the king, for he is spoken of as the "lord on whose hand the king leaned" (II Kings 7:2). At the time when Samaria was reduced to the most desperate straits during the siege by Syria, it was this officer who was sent with an important message to Elisha, evidently to sound out the prophet as to some means of relief (II Kings 6:26–33), and it was he who at the hour of Samaria's deliverance had charge of the gate (II Kings 7:17), possibly as judge in place of the king. When Jehu slew Jehoram, it was Bidkar his *šālîš* who was ordered to dispose of the body of the fallen king (II Kings 9:24, 25).

reigns but from their first assumption of power. What precedent Pekah may or may not have had for numbering his years from the year of assumption of power on the part of the house he overthrew we do not know, but usurpers do not always wait for precedent.[86]

Having set the tentative dates of 751/50 for the accession of Jotham and 752/51 for the accession of Pekah, we are in a position to carry the chronology through on this basis and to ascertain the results. The length of Jotham's reign is thrice recorded as sixteen years (II Kings 15:33; II Chron. 27:1, 8), which would bring the termination of his rule in 736/35. This pattern would provide Jotham with a twelve-year coregency with his father Azariah, from 751/50 to 740/39, and four years of sole reign, from 740/39 to 736/35. That Jotham reigned alone at least three years is indicated by a statement in II Chron. 27:5 that he was victorious over the Ammonites and that they paid tribute to him three years. The Ammonites were already tributary to Azariah (II Chron. 26:8), and it is altogether possible that upon the death of the latter they refused longer to pay tribute but were again brought back into subjection by Jotham early in his reign. The fact that Jotham is pictured as a strong ruler (II Chron. 27:6), but that Ammon is reported to have paid tribute to him only until the third year, may possibly indicate this as the extent of his sole reign.

Since 736/35 marked the termination of Jotham's reign, that would also be the year of the accession of his son Ahaz. Ahaz came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1). With 752/51 as the accession year of Pekah, his seventeenth year would be Nisan, 735, to Nisan, 734. Nisan to Tishri, 735, would thus be the time when the seventeenth year of Pekah would synchronize with the accession year of Ahaz.

The question arises as to whether Jotham actually ruled sixteen or twenty years. In favor of a sixteen-year reign are the three direct statements giving that as the length of his reign, whereas for a twenty-year reign there is only the evidence of the synchronism of II Kings 15:30. Also in favor of a sixteen-year reign is the fact that this would be in harmony with the synchronism of Ahaz's accession in the seventeenth year of Pekah, while with a twenty-year reign for Jotham the accession of Ahaz would not take place until after Pekah had terminated his reign and Hoshea had taken the throne. But it was while Ahaz was king that Pekah and Rezin came against Judah and that Ahaz called Tiglath-pileser to his aid against Samaria and Damascus (II Kings 16:5–10; II Chron. 28:5–21; Isa. 7:1–6).

While we have no record as to the exact year when the contacts between Ahaz and Tiglath-pileser occurred, these contacts do afford an opportunity for testing the correctness of the above chronology within very narrow limits. The length of

[86] Every investigator who has gone carefully into the chronology of this period has noticed that Pekah could not have had a sole reign of 20 years. Various types of adjustment have been attempted. Löv takes the view that Pekah ruled only 5 years instead of 20 and that the latter figure was inserted into the record by well-meaning but blundering Exilic chronologers (see Gustav Löv, "Das synchronistische System der Königsbücher," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIII [1900], 167). Lederer makes the accession of Pekah contemporaneous with Menahem, taking the view that he ruled as a rival of Menahem (see Carl Lederer, *Die biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Agypten bis zum Beginne der babylonischen Gefangenschaft* [Speier, 1887/88], pp. 135 ff.). Hellemann also begins the reign of Pekah in the same year as Menahem, declaring that he usurped the latter's reign (Alfred Hellemann, *Chronologia probabiliter vera historiae Judaicae et Israëliticas gentis ab Abrahamo ad Christum* [Hafniae, 1925], pp. 71, 73). Chapman's position is almost identical with that of the writer. He suggests that, inasmuch as Pekah was leader of the anti-Assyrian party, he reckoned his own reign *de jure* from the downfall of the house of Jehu and endeavored to expunge as usurpers the two kings of the pro-Assyrian house of Menahem (W. J. Chapman, "The Problem of Inconsequent Post-dating in II Kings XV. 13, 17 and 23," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II [1925], 59).

Pekah's reign is given as twenty years (II Kings 15:27). If this period began in 752/51, it ended in 732/31. And if Jotham completed his sixteen-year reign in 736/35, then that was the time when Ahaz took the throne. There would thus be a period from the fall of 736 to the spring of 731 when the reigns of Ahaz and Pekah overlapped. But the period when the above-mentioned contacts occurred can be narrowed still further, for it would be very unlikely that a military campaign would be entered upon after Tishri, 736, or before Nisan, 731. So the march of Pekah against Ahaz and the latter's call to Tiglath-pileser for aid must have occurred some time between 735 and 732. It is precisely during this period that the eponym chronicle records campaigns of Tiglath-pileser in the West. The campaign of 734 was against Philistia, and Damascus was the scene of attack in 733 and 732. It seems altogether probable that the presence of Tiglath-pileser in Philistia in 734 must have had some connection with the attack of Pekah and Rezin on Ahaz and the latter's call to Tiglath-pileser for aid. In all likelihood, a coalition to resist the Assyrian advance to the Mediterranean had been formed by the states of the West, and the attack on Ahaz may have peen prompted by his refusal to enter that coalition. In fact, Ahaz may already have been a tributary ally of Tiglath-pileser, and the latter's campaign against Philistia may have been prompted in part by a call from Ahaz for aid when the outlying districts of Judah were forced to submit to Philistine invasion (II Chron. 28:18). Such a reliance of Ahaz upon Assyria would in all likelihood call upon him the wrath of Syria and Israel, to be followed by Ahaz's next desperate call to the Assyrian king for succor (II Kings 16:7, 8). Although the campaigns of 733 and 732 against Damascus may have been Tiglath-pileser's response to the call of Ahaz for aid, they no doubt constituted some important part in a larger, purely Assyrian plan for the total subjugation of the Westland.

It will be noticed that our chronological reconstruction fits well into the Assyrian pattern for this period,[87] and we have confidence to proceed upon this basis. Indeed, our chronology could only be pushed one or two years in either direction before conflicting with the Assyrian chronology for these years. Tiglath-pileser's statement that the people of the house of Omri deposed Pekah their king and that he placed Hoshea over them is of great interest in the present connection, but unfortunately it is not dated.[88] It is altogether possible that, with the fall of Damascus and the death of Rezin in 732, popular reaction in Israel against the policy of Pekah may have brought Hoshea to the front and given him the throne. The new king no

[87] Inasmuch as almost all modern scholars have come to the conclusion that the biblical chronology for this period is hopelessly in error and have despaired of reaching any sound results from the biblical data that have come down to us, most modern reconstructions of Hebrew chronology for this time have been arrived at by an endeavor to fit the events of the kings of Judah and Israel into the dated events of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and his successors. Some of the results thus arrived at have in parts been remarkably accurate. Thus, Steuernagel came to the conclusion that for Israel the difficulty would probably be found only in the reign of Pekah and that in Judah it was probably before the reign of Ahaz. For Amaziah he suggested a reign of perhaps only 9 years instead of 29, and for Azariah and Jotham together he suggested a total of 54 years, the latter figure probably to include the coreign of Jotham (see D. Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [Tübingen, 1912], p. 350; cf. also J. Bensinger, *Geschichte Israels bis auf die Griechischezeit* [Berlin, 1924], p. 33). In both of the above instances Steuernagel was not more than a year or two in error. In the case of Amaziah, the sole reign was only 7 years, and this king lived on for 22 years more after Azariah had been placed on the throne, as is evidenced by the statement that Amaziah lived for 15 years after the death of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:17). For detailed political reconstructions of this particular period see Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff.; Begrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff., and "Der syrischephraimitische Krieg und seine weltpolitischen Zusammenhänge," *ZDMG*, LXXXIII (1929), pp. 213 ff.

[88] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 816.

doubt was willing to recognize the power of Assyria and pay tribute, and in return he was recognized by Tiglath-pileser. This would fit in perfectly with our date of 732/31 for the death of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea.

It will be recalled that our establishment of the period in question, 751/50 for the beginning of the reign of Jotham to 716/15 as the termination of the reign of Ahaz, was based on a twenty-year reign for Jotham and a sixteen-year reign for Ahaz. Inasmuch as we are here dealing with a fixed period of years, however, any adjustment that might be necessary in the length of the reign of one of these kings would require a compensatory adjustment in the length of the reign of the other. If we accept a sixteen- instead of a twenty-year reign for Jotham, as the evidence indicates we must, then we must assign to Ahaz twenty[89] instead of sixteen years. The only alternative to this would be to postulate a four-year coregency of Ahaz with Jotham, with Jotham pushed entirely into the background and Ahaz playing the leading rule, and with the statement that Ahaz ruled sixteen years (II Kings 16:2) referring only to his sole reign. The ages of Ahaz and Hezekiah at their accessions make a twenty-year reign for Ahaz almost imperative, for the latter was twenty years old at the time of his accession (II Kings 16:2), while his son Hezekiah was twenty-five when he began his rule (II Kings 18: 2). If Ahaz was only twenty at the beginning of a sixteen-year rule, he would be only thirty-six at its close, when his son, however, was already twenty-five. It would hardly be possible that Ahaz was only eleven years old when his son Hezekiah was born, so a twenty-year reign is almost a necessity. The dates for Ahaz are thus 736/35 to 716/15.[90]

The length of Pekah's reign is given as twenty years (II Kings 15:27). If this began in 752/51, it terminated in 732/31. He was succeeded by the usurper Hoshea, whose accession is declared to have taken place in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30) and the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1). Since Jotham began his rule in 751/50, his twentieth year, if he had ruled twenty years, would have fallen in 732/31, which would thus synchronize with the accession year of Hoshea, as II Kings 15:30 declares. Inasmuch as every indication is that this is the correct chronological picture with which we are now dealing, there is a possibility that in some sense Jotham continued to have a part in this picture until his twentieth year, but with Ahaz actually ruling the land from Jotham's sixteenth year. The statement that Hoshea's accession synchronized with the twelfth year of Ahaz is obviously in error.

The event of vital importance in the reign of Hoshea was the siege and capture of Samaria by the Assyrians and the termination of the Northern Kingdom. The siege of Samaria was begun by Shalmaneser V in the seventh year of Hoshea and was continued for three years to the ninth year of Hoshea, at which time the city fell and Israel was carried captive to Assyria (II Kings 17:4–6; 18:9–11). Since Hoshea began his reign in 732/31, the

[89] Among scholars assigning 20 instead of 16 years to Ahaz are Kamphausen (*op. cit.*, p. 28) and Mowinckel (*op. cit.*, pp. 231–32).

[90] This date, 716/15, for the death of Ahaz is of great importance to the correct exegesis of Isa. 14:28–32, on which so much has been written. It would support Irwin's interpretation that the broken rod is Ahaz and that, with the death of this king, Philistia has little ground for rejoicing, for Hezekiah would bring upon that nation still greater ruin, which II Kings 18:8 indicates was indeed the case (See W. A. Irwin, "The Exposition of Isaiah 14:28–32," *AJSL*, XLIV [1928], 73 ff.). The position of Begrich, that the broken rod was Tiglath-pileser III, would, of course, be untenable (Joachim Begrich, "Jesaja 14, 28–32: Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der israelitisch-judäischen Königzeit," *ZDMG*, LXXXVI [1933], 66 ff.).

seventh to the ninth years of his reign would be from 725/24 to 723/22, and this would be the time of the siege of Samaria. The latter date, 723/22, would thus mark the fall of Samaria, the termination of the reign of Hoshea, and the end of the Northern Kingdom.

The question will immediately arise as to how the above date for the fall of Samaria (723/22) can be made to harmonize with the accession year of Sargon (722/21), at which time the latter claimed to have captured the city and taken its citizens into captivity.[91] Sargon came to the throne on the twelfth day of Tebet,[92] which was about the last of December, 722; his first year began with the first of Nisan, 721. If Samaria, however, did not fall until the very last days of the last month of the ninth year of Hoshea, it would still have fallen before the first of Nisan, 722, and there would thus be a gap of at least some nine months between the fall of the city and the accession of Sargon. It will thus be seen that if our chronology is correct, Sargon could not have taken Samaria in his accession year.

It has long been noticed that the biblical account of the fall of Samaria makes no mention of Sargon. Shalmaneser is the king who is named as having begun the siege (II Kings 18:9), and, although he is not expressly named as also having captured the city, it is clear, as Olmstead pointed out in his excellent discussion of the fall of Samaria,[93] that the Hebrew writer intended the same king in both cases. Comparing the relative values of the Hebrew and the Assyrian accounts, Olmstead notes that the Hebrew account seems to rest on very good sources and that there exists no reason there for distortion of fact, but that in the Assyrian account a most dangerous "personal equation" must be taken into consideration, and that the royal scribe would have every reason for carrying over into his master's reign events which took place in the final year of a predecessor. Olmstead further points out that this presumption as to the accuracy of the Hebrew historian seems to be confirmed by the Babylonian Chronicle, I:28, where the only citation given concerning the reign of Shalmaneser is his destruction of the city of Sha-ma-ra-in, which Delitzsch identified with Samaria. The Assyrian Chronicle at this point is of little assistance, for it is badly mutilated, and for the years 725, 724, and 723 retains merely the word "against." The coincidence, however, of these three years with the three years of the Hebrew account of the siege of Samaria, seems to Olmstead to justify supplying "Samaria" from the Babylonian Chronicle. Luckenbill likewise has restored the word "Samaria" for these three years in the eponym chronicle.[94] Olmstead further points out the fact that, inasmuch as Sargon came to the throne about the close of December, his accession year would consist of only four months of the worst season of the year, January to April, the rainy season when the Assyrian army rarely took the field, and his capture of Samaria at such a time would be very unlikely. To sum up, Olmstead declares that for the capture of Samaria by Sargon we have only his own claim, made in a late series of documents, which have often been proved incorrect, while against this is the silence of Sargon's own earlier accounts and the direct ascription of the capture to Shalmaneser by two separate, independent, unprejudiced authorities, the Hebrew and the Babylonian, while a

[91] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, secs. 4, 55.

[92] Babylonian Chronicle, I:31.

[93] A. T. Olmstead, "The Fall of Samaria," *AJSL*, XXI (1904–5), pp. 179–82, and *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, pp. 45 ff., n. 9.

[94] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 437.

third, a native Assyrian account, presents data which would well fit into the Hebrew scheme. For the above reasons Olmstead feels that the capture of Samaria is properly to be ascribed to Shalmaneser rather than to Sargon, in the year 723 B.C.

The points made by Olmstead are well taken. It is of interest, moreover, to notice that the above date for the fall of Samaria, 723, is in perfect harmony with our date, 723/22, independently arrived at, for the ninth and last year of Hoshea and the termination of the Northern Kingdom.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the synchronism of the accession of Hoshea in the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1) is in error. Likewise in error are the three synchronisms which immediately follow the above: accession of Hezekiah = third of Hoshea (II Kings 18:1), fourth of Hezekiah = seventh of Hoshea (II Kings 18:9), and sixth of Hezekiah = ninth of Hoshea (II Kings 18:10). According to our reconstructed pattern for this period there was no overlapping of the reigns of Hoshea and Hezekiah, since Hoshea completed his reign in 723/22 at the conclusion of Shalmaneser's siege of Samaria, and Hezekiah did not begin his reign until 716/15, fourteen years before Sennacherib's march against the cities of Judah.

A careful examination of the details of the account of the celebration of Hezekiah's first Passover at the beginning of his reign reveals the fact that the Northern Kingdom had at that time already come to its end.[95] It was in the first month of his first year that Hezekiah cleansed the temple (II Chron. 29:3, 17), and the Passover was consequently observed in the second month (II Chron. 30:2, 13, 15). Verse 1 of chapter 30 begins with a *waw* conversive, which usually indicates a continuation of the previous narrative. Verse 3 gives as the reason for holding the Passover in the second month rather than the first (as would be the usual custom) the fact that the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently (which clearly refers back to 29:34) and the people had not yet gathered into Jerusalem. The main work of cleansing the temple occupied the first eight days of the first month, and the cleansing was not completed until the sixteenth day of the first month (II Chron. 29:17); hence to hold the Passover in the first month would have been out of the question.

Invitations to attend the Passover were sent not only to Judah but to Ephraim and Manasseh and even to Zebulun (II Chron. 30:1, 6, 10)—territory that once had been the domain of the Northern Kingdom but was now open to the envoys of Judah. When Joash repaired the temple during the period of the divided kingdom, there is no record of invitations having been sent to the North, but only to Judah and Jerusalem (II Chron. 24:5, 9). Hezekiah sent forth his decree all the way from Beersheba to Dan (II Chron. 30:5), the latter being the northern limit of the undivided kingdom of David and Solomon (I Chron. 21:2). At the time when the Northern Kingdom was still in existence, Jehoshaphat extended his reforms only from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim (II Chron. 19:4).

[95] Scholars have long noticed the inconsistencies involved in the attempt to apply the narrative of Hezekiah's first Passover to a period when the Northern Kingdom was still in existence (see Otto Zöckler, *The Books of the Chronicles, Theologically and Homiletically Expounded*, Vol. VII of *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical*, ed. John Peter Lange [New York, 1877], p. 259; Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* ["International Critical Commentary" (New York, 1910)], p. 471; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings*, trans. James Murphy [Edinburgh, 1857], II, 79 ff., n. 1).

Hezekiah's admonitions were expressly addressed to a nation that was in deep distress and desolation and whose people had already gone into captivity. The ones who would now receive his letters were spoken of as those who had escaped out of the hands of the king of Assyria (II Chron. 30:6). Their land was already in desolation (II Chron. 30:7). If they now turned to the Lord and came to the sanctuary at Jerusalem, their brethren might obtain mercy from the ones who had taken them captive (II Chron. 30:8, 9).

Although these invitations were largely spurned, there was a considerable response from Asher, Manasseh, Ephraim, Issachar, and Zebulun (II Chron. 30:11, 18). No such Passover had been observed in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon (II Chron. 30:26). When the Passover was over, the people went forth to break down the images, cut down the groves, and throw down the altars not only in Judah and Benjamin but also in Ephraim and Manasseh, and they did not cease "until they had utterly destroyed them all" (II Chron. 31:1).

The above description of Hezekiah's first Passover makes it clear that at this time the Northern Kingdom was no longer in existence. Such things simply could not have happened while Israel remained a sovereign state. No king of Israel would have permitted envoys from his rival to the south to march through his land inviting his subjects to attend a general festival at the rival capital. Particularly was Israel's last king not of the type to have tolerated such a procedure and then to have watched an iconoclastic crowd from the south smashing all places of worship in his own kingdom. When the northern nation fell, the reason given is that it had gone over to idolatry (II Kings 17:6–23). But such a statement would be decidedly out of place if at this time such striking evidences of religious reform had been introduced with the full consent of the king.

If the Northern Kingdom was still in existence at this time, and if Hezekiah and Hoshea were indeed contemporaries, it would be altogether likely that there would be in the records of Judah some word concerning Hezekiah's relationship with Israel at this critical hour. If one examines the records of all the kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Ahaz, there will almost invariably be some reference to contacts with the contemporaneous king of Israel, or in the only two instances where such mention is lacking there will at least be positive evidence that the two nations still existed side by side.[96] In the case of Hezekiah, however, there is, outside the erroneous synchronisms above referred to, no reference to any contact with a king of Israel and no evidence that Israel was still in existence.

Whitehouse offers the suggestion that

[96] REHOBOAM.—War with Jeroboam all his days (I Kings 14:30).

ABIJAM.—Great war with Jeroboam (I Kings 15:6; II Chron. 13:3–20).

ASA.—War with Baasha (I Kings 15:16–22; II Chron. 16:1–6).

JEHOSHAPHAT.—Went with Ahab against Syria (I Kings 22:2–37; II Chron. 18:1–34).

JEHORAM.—Wife was Athaliah, daughter of Ahab (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 21:6).

AHAZIAH.—Went with Jehoram against Hazael and visited Jehoram in Jezreel (II Kings 8:28, 29; II Chron. 22:5, 6), and was slain by Jehu (II Kings 9:27; II Chron. 22:7–9).

ATHALIAH.—Daughter of Ahab (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 22:2), contemporary of Jehu (II Kings 9:27; 11:1).

JOASH.—No mention of direct contacts, but his son Amaziah had contacts with Israel, so Israel was then still in existence (II Kings 14:8).

AMAZIAH.—Hired army from Israel (II Chron. 25:6–10) and waged war with Jehoash (II Kings 14:8–14; II Chron. 25:17–24).

AZARIAH.—No mention of direct contacts, but Israel was still in existence at the time of Jotham his son (II Kings 15:37).

JOTHAM.—Pekah came against Judah (II Kings 15:37).

AHAZ.—Pekah came against Judah (II Kings 16:5; II Chron. 28:6; Isa. 7:1–7).

HEZEKIAH.—No evidence of any contact with a king of Israel.

the year 715 assigned by Kamphausen to the death of Ahaz is recommended by the consideration that it affords a clue to the foreign policy of Judah during the Assyrian siege of Samaria. This could hardly have been anything else than one of friendly neutrality toward Assyria, and such an attitude was in keeping with the steadfast policy of Ahaz of friendship with Assyria. When Hezekiah took the throne, however, the policy of Isaiah involving resistance to the encroachments of Assyrian power became ascendent.[97]

If the above-mentioned synchronisms are in error, a careful study of them should reveal how they arose. They are all of one group and one pattern and are all found in the short space of two chapters—three of them within ten verses of one chapter. When put together, they reveal a single erroneous picture superimposed upon the true picture. The scribe who was responsible for these errors did not know that the years of Jotham's reign began with the commencement of his coregency with his father or that Pekah began counting the years of his reign with the year when the house of Menahem, which he overthrew, first came to the throne. Thus he erroneously began counting the reigns of these kings from the termination of the reigns of their predecessors.

Let us notice how this works out. The reign of Azariah ended in 740/39. Beginning from there the scribe counted twenty years for Jotham (II Kings 15:30), to 720/19. The accession of Pekah took place in the fifty-second and final year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27). The scribe allowed for a synchronism from Nisan to Tishri, 739, between the last year of Azariah and the accession year of Pekah, and began counting the twenty years of Pekah (II Kings 15:27) from that point to 719/18. In doing this, however, he lost all possibility of a synchronism between the accession year of Jotham and the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). But, commencing the accession of Hoshea in 719/18, he did secure a synchronism between that event and the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30), 720/19. The accession of Hoshea also he synchronized with the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1). Given 720/19 as the twelfth year of Ahaz, his first year would fall in 731/30. That, however, would make impossible the synchronism of the beginning of the rule of Ahaz with the seventeenth of Pekah (II Kings 16:1), for 732/31 would be the seventh year of Pekah and 731/30 his eighth year and not his seventeenth. With 731/30 as the first year of Ahaz and 720/19 as his twelfth year, his sixteenth and final year (II Kings 16:2) would fall in 716/15, at which time his son Hezekiah took the throne. Having, according to this scheme, begun the reign of Hoshea in 719/18, his third year fell in 716/15, and he thus secured his erroneous synchronism of the accession of Hezekiah in the third year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:1). Likewise 712/11, the fourth year of Hezekiah, provided the synchronism with the seventh year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:9), and 710/9, the sixth year of Hezekiah, gave the synchronism with the ninth year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:10).

It is clear that this group of erroneous synchronisms was not the product of a contemporary scribe but of an individual who lived at some time sufficiently removed from the occasion of these events to allow for their exact memory to have been forgotten. He was, however, in possession of sufficient precise and trustworthy historical information to enable him to construct a chronological pattern as he thought it should be and also to enable us now to discern his mistakes and

[97] Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse, Notes and Addenda by Whitehouse, II, 322.

reconstruct that pattern as it ought to be. The exact interval between the termination of Azariah's reign and the accession of Hezekiah was known to him, but just how the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz fitted into that interval he did not know, nor did he know how the history of Israel at this period fitted into the history of Judah. Being in possession of correct information concerning the lengths of the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, but knowing that the total of these reigns was too long to fit into the interval available for them, he erroneously telescoped twelve years of the reign of Ahaz onto the reign of Jotham. For Israel, however, no corresponding reduction was made, with the result that the reigns of the kings of that nation were pushed beyond the place where they ought to be in comparison with the kings of Judah, and the erroneous synchronisms between the two nations thus came into being.

The history of Israel is now completed. The striking agreement of the chronology of the Hebrews as it has here been reconstructed, with the chronology of Assyria at such places where definite contacts between the two nations may be established, gives confidence that we are dealing with the absolute chronology of both countries. The use by the writer or writers of the Books of Kings, as has herein been demonstrated, of two diverse systems of chronological reckoning for the Hebrew monarchies, and their interweaving in the way we find them, demands that the writers had access to actual official chronicles which were correct and which they cited accurately. It is an interesting aspect of their faithfulness and their competence that within a single passage, as happens so often, they readily and quickly swung from one system to another, and back again if need be, and that in all this complex procedure they were able to keep their bearings and pass on to us records so straight that we today, once the principles of their system are understood, are able to unravel the seemingly tangled skein and reproduce the basic pattern as it once existed in its original harmony.

That the last unfortunate misconstruction should have crept into the chronological pattern as it was preserved by the ancient Hebrew scribes is to be regretted. But when one considers the many imperfections of the contemporary records that have come down to us from Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, when one takes into consideration the ease with which corruption may creep into records copied and recopied by hand and passed on from generation to generation over such vast periods of time, and when one regards the complexities involved in the computation of the chronology of the Hebrew kings, the strange thing is not that some mistakes did creep into the record that has come down to us but how any body of men could have accomplished such an almost impossible task with such a minimum of error.

VI. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH, 716–586

The establishment of an exact chronology thus far has been made possible only by means of the information furnished by the cross-synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah. Without such synchronisms we would have had no information concerning the lengths and no knowledge of the existence of certain coregencies and no intimation of changes in methods of reckoning that took place, and exact chronology would not have been possible without such information. In the period just before us, however, we shall be deprived of the invaluable assistance that these synchronisms have furnished us, and not until we reach the time when synchro-

nisms with Babylonian kings are available will we have the certain evidence again that we are on absolutely solid ground. If there should be any coregencies in the century with which we are about to deal, the only means of ascertaining this fact would be to go on to the next fixed date in the history of Judah and then to compare the number of years in this interval with the recorded years of the kings for the same period. Any excess in the latter would be either a coregency or a number of coregencies or else an error.

The beginning of the reign of Hezekiah has already been ascertained to have been in 716/15. He ruled twenty-nine years (II Kings 18:2; II Chron. 29:1), to 687/86. The next fixed date in the history of Judah is secured from a synchronism of the fourth year of Jehoiakim with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1). The accession of Nebuchadnezzar took place in 605,[98] and his first year was thus 604. This too, then, was the fourth year of Jehoiakim. To cover the interval from Hezekiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim are the following reigns:

Manasseh.....	55 years
Amon.....	2 years
Josiah.....	31 years
Jehoahaz.....	3 months
Jehoiakim....	4 years
Total.....	92 years, 3 months

But from the termination of the reign of Hezekiah (687/86) to the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604) is only eighty-three years, so we are provided with an excess of some nine or ten years. The task before us is to ascertain whether this might constitute a coregency at some place and, if so, where. We will proceed by a process of elimination.

If 604 was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, then 609/8 was his accession year. That, too, would be the date for the three-month reign of Jehoahaz and the terminal year of Josiah. And with 609/8 as the thirty-first and final year of Josiah, 640/39 would be his accession year, unless there were some coregencies involved. We know that there was no coregency of Jehoahaz with Josiah, for Jehoahaz was placed on the throne by the people upon the slaying of Josiah by Necho (II Kings 23:30). Moreover, the period involved was only three months. We know also that there was no coregency of Jehoiakim with either Josiah or Jehoahaz, for he was placed on the throne by Necho (II Kings 23:34). A further positive evidence that no coreigns were involved in this particular period is provided by the information that from the thirteenth year of Josiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim was twenty-three years (Jer. 25:1, 3). If 604 was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the twenty-third year before that was 627/26, and this would be the thirteenth year of Josiah. The accession year of Josiah on this basis would be 640/39, the same figure as arrived at above. So we know that whatever coregency there might have been came before this period.

The predecessor of Josiah was Amon, who ruled only two years (II Kings 21:19). Was Josiah coregent with his father Amon? If so, it could not have been for more than two years, for that was the extent of Amon's reign. Josiah, moreover, was placed on the throne not by his father, Amon, but by the people after Amon had been slain in a conspiracy (II Kings 21:23, 24). And the age of Josiah when he began to reign was only eight (II Kings 22:1), which would have been rather young for a coregency.

Amon is the next candidate for a coregency. Did he spend part of his reign as regent with his father Manasseh? The

[98] Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 45* (Chicago, 1942), p. 9.

total extent of his kingship was only two years, so if he had spent two years on the throne with his father he would have had no reign in his own right at all and he would have died in the same year as did his father. Had he learned to reign while his father lived—a man who had succeeded in occupying the throne for fifty-five years, longer than any other king of Judah or Israel—perhaps he would not have fallen victim to the palace regicides. Let us not begrudge Amon his two years on the throne alone.

The only other candidate left for a coregency is Manasseh. Might it be that this king spent part of his years as coregent with his father Hezekiah? An examination of the available data makes this seem altogether likely. Manasseh ruled fifty-five years (II Kings 21:1), and part of this very long reign may well have been spent on the throne with his father learning the principles of kingship. Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign and he ruled twenty-nine years (II Kings 18:2). That would make his age fifty-four at death. Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign (II Kings 21:1). If the beginning of his rule was at his father's death, then Hezekiah was forty-two years old before his first son Manasseh was born. That would be possible, but it would be much more probable that Hezekiah was somewhat younger than forty-two when his first son was born. If Manasseh had ruled with his father ten years before Hezekiah's death, then the latter would have been thirty-two years old at Manasseh's birth, which is much more likely.

But would Hezekiah associate his twelve-year-old son with him on the throne? Were there any conditions calling for such a procedure? A Hebrew lad when he reached the age of twelve was a "son of the law" and had become *gadol*. He had then passed from the days of childhood to youth and was considered old enough to concern himself with the serious work of life (cf. Luke 2:42, 49). At about the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701, Hezekiah was in a precarious state of health but had received from the prophet Isaiah assurance of another fifteen years of life (II Kings 20:1–7; II Chron. 32:24; Isa. 38:1–22). It is only to be expected that the king, facing such a situation, as a kind father and a wise sovereign, would give to the heir-presumptive at the earliest possible moment every advantage of training in rulership. Such a moment had arrived when Manasseh reached the age of twelve, and it is, therefore, altogether probable that at this time Hezekiah associated his son with him on the throne. The coregency would thus begin in 696/95 and would terminate with the death of Hezekiah in 687/86. Its length was ten years, inclusive reckoning, and the excess of years previously mentioned as available for the total years of reign for this century would thus be provided for. While it is to be regretted that absolute proof is not available that a coregency did take place precisely at this juncture, we can only point out the above probabilities and proceed on that basis.

In 687/86 Manasseh began his sole rule. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria from 681 to 669, listed Manasseh among the twenty-two kings of the Hittite country who were in vassalage to him.[99] The chronicler has preserved a record that Manasseh was carried captive by the king of Assyria to Babylon (II Chron. 33:11), but no chronological information is available concerning the exact time of these contacts.[100]

[99] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, sec. 690.

[100] Professor W. A. Irwin is responsible for the suggestion that there may be some connection between this record of Manasseh's captivity and Esarhaddon's account of Manasseh of Judah being one of the twenty-two kings of the Hittite land who were summoned

Beginning his fifty-five-year reign in 696/95, Manasseh died in 642/41. He was succeeded by his son Amon, who ruled two years (II Kings 21:18, 19), 642/41 to 640/39. Amon was succeeded by his son Josiah, then aged only eight, who reigned thirty-one years (II Kings 22:1), to 609/8.

The period immediately before us is in some respects the most interesting and fruitful of all for biblical chronological study, for in no other period is there available such a wealth of detailed chronological information. Dates are now expressed not only in terms of years but frequently also in terms of months and days. Frequent cross-references occur between the reigns of Hebrew and Babylonian kings which make possible precise dating of events.

Yet there are also difficulties. Never before have there been so many systems of reckoning employed as now. In the case of each individual writer it is necessary to know the exact system of reckoning employed, or inaccuracies and discrepancies result.

A careful examination of the internal evidence indicates that all biblical writers of this period used the accession-year system for Hebrew, Babylonian, or Persian kings. The writers of Kings and Jeremiah used a Tishri-to-Tishri system when speaking of Hebrew kings and a Nisan-to Nisan system when speaking of Babylonian kings; the dates in the Book of Ezekiel are according to a Nisan-to-Nisan system when speaking of the years of the captivity of Jehoiachin; Haggai and Zechariah used Nisan-to-Nisan years; but Nehemiah, and probably his contemporary Ezra, used a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning even when speaking of Persian kings, for Nehemiah speaks of being in the palace of Artaxerxes in the month Kislev of the twentieth year of the king, but he also speaks of the following Nisan as still being in the same twentieth year (Neh. 1:1; 2:1).

The reasons why Kings and Jeremiah do not agree as to the exact day of the month in reporting the date of the arrival of Nebuzaradan at Jerusalem and the release of Jehoiachin are still uncertain. Kings gives the former as the seventh day of the fifth month, while Jeremiah has it the tenth day of the fifth month (II Kings 25:8; Jer. 52:12), while for the latter event Kings gives the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month, and Jeremiah the twenty-fifth day of the month (II Kings 25:27; Jer. 52:31). It is possible that these differences point to the use of different calendrical systems.

It is our purpose not to discuss in detail all the chronological material for this period but to establish the chronology of the Hebrew kings. When worked out according to the details given above, the chronological data for the closing period of the Old Testament will be found to preserve internal harmony and to be in agreement with the correct dates of secular history, although a problem still remains concerning the exact time at which Josiah met his death at Megiddo at the hands of Necho II (609–593), as the latter was making his way through Palestine toward Carchemish on the Euphrates (II Kings 23:29; II Chron. 35:20–24). The termination of Josiah's reign has previously been given as 609/8. There is in existence, however, a record to the effect that Assuruballit and the Egyptian army advanced against the North Syrian capital of Harran in the month of Tammuz and that the Babylonian garrison was slaughtered.[101]

to Assyria for attendance at the official durbar held by Esarhaddon to validate the presumptive accession of Assurbanipal and that, if this is the case, the date would be shortly before Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaign in 669, in which he died.

[101] C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (London, 1923), p. 41.

The year is not specifically mentioned in this part of the record, but inasmuch as this account immediately follows the section dealing with the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, the time was in all probability the seventeenth year, or 609 B.C. From Tammuz to Elul there was an unsuccessful siege of the city by the Assyrians and Egyptians. This, then, would call for a northward advance by Necho through Palestine in Tammuz or possibly earlier in 609, and a return in Elul or possibly Tishri of the same year.

The question arises as to whether it was during this or in the following year that Josiah was slain. In favor of 609 is the fact that the siege of Harran lasted just three months, Tammuz to Elul, and that the reign of Jehoahaz, who began his rule at the northward advance of Necho through Palestine and was deposed by him evidently on his return to the south, likewise lasted just three months (II Kings 23:31–34; II Chron. 36:1–4). If Josiah died in 609 rather than in 608, the beginning of his reign and that of Amon and Manasseh will have to be pushed back one year from the dates we have previously given.

It is impossible, however, to push back the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, the successor of Jehoahaz, beyond the date previously given, for the years of this king are so definitely tied into the fixed reign of Nebuchadnezzar as to prevent their being moved either one way or the other. For instance, the fourth year of Jehoiakim synchronizes with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1), and, that being the case, Jehoiakim's reign could not be moved backward without breaking this synchronism; therefore, his accession can have taken place no earlier than Tishri, 609. If Jehoiakim came to the throne of Judah in Tishri, 609, then the three-month reign of Jehoahaz would probably have commenced early in the month of Tammuz of that year, or possibly somewhat before, as Necho was passing through Palestine on his way to the Euphrates, and it must have terminated in Tishri rather than in Elul. This would be altogether possible, for Necho, having terminated his siege of Harran in Elul, might not have reached southern Palestine until Tishri.

But still another possibility exists, and that is that Necho, having made a northward advance through Palestine in 609, may have made another advance through that country the following year to continue the inconclusive struggle with the Babylonian king for the control of North Syria which began the preceding year. The tablet which tells of the Egyptian campaign of 609 closes with a "catch-line," which reproduces the opening words of the next tablet, and this shows that Nabopolassar was in the field again the following year, although the name of the foe is not revealed. Were this tablet still intact, Gadd suggests that it would probably reveal the interesting details of the conflict between Nabopolassar and his allies and Necho II of Egypt.[102] This would bring Josiah's death in 608, the traditional date, and the date we have here given.

Daniel refers to a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan. 1:1), some time between Tishri, 606, and Tishri, 605. Spring or summer of 605 would be the natural time for such a campaign. Josephus has preserved an important witness of Berosus concerning such a campaign.[103] The statement is to the effect that while Nabopolassar was king of Babylon he heard that the West had revolted from him, and so he sent his son Nebuchad-

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[103] *Against Apion* i. 132–39; *Ant.* x. 219–23.

nezzar against the Jews and others to subdue them. After this brief introduction Josephus continues with a presentation of Berosus' own account of the incident. The vital points are that when Nabopolassar heard that the governor whom he had appointed over the West had revolted from him, Nebuchadnezzar was sent against the rebel, conquered him, and brought the country back under his dominion. In the midst of this campaign word reached him of his father's death, whereupon he committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and others to his captains and hastened back to Babylon to take his throne. The last two tablets of Nabopolassar are dated II/6/21 (May 16, 605) and V/1/21 (August 8, 605), while the first two tablets of Nebuchadnezzar are IV/—/acc. (month IV ends August 7, 605) and VI/12/acc. (September 18, 605).[104] All this is in agreement as to 605 being both the third year of Jehoiakim and the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar.

The synchronism of Jer. 25:1 that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar has already been referred to, and upon this synchronism rests the chronology we have just outlined. Jehoiakim ruled eleven years (II Kings 23:36; II Chron. 36:5), to 598/7.

The next ruler was Jehoiachin, who had reigned only three months when Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem and took him captive to Babylon (II Kings 24:8–15; II Chron. 36:9, 10). This occurred in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 24:12) and must have been after Nisan, 597, for that was the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's eighth year. The chronicler states that it was after the turn of the year (II Chron. 36:10), but it is debatable whether *ltīšûbhath -haššānāh* indicates the spring or fall turn of the year. Ezekiel gives the added information that a certain vision which he had in the beginning of the year, on the tenth day of the month, was on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the captivity (Ezek. 40:1). There is again no information as to whether he is referring to a spring or a fall year, but it is clear that Jehoiachin's captivity did begin on either Nisan 10 or Tishri 10, 597. Since Ezekiel was speaking from a Babylonian viewpoint, one would expect that Nisan was intended. Jeremiah says that the body of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin's predecessor, was to be cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem (Jer. 22:19), and that it was to be left exposed in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost (Jer. 36:30). Inasmuch as Jehoiachin reigned only three months, it was in either Tebet or Tammuz that the body of Jehoiakim was left exposed. The summer heat of Tammuz would not meet Jeremiah's specifications of frost at night, but Tebet would. The beginning of Jehoiachin's captivity was therefore on Nisan 10 (April 22), 597.[105]

Jehoiachin was succeeded on the throne by Zedekiah, the last king of the southern monarchy. He ruled eleven years (II Kings 24:18; II Chron. 36:11). Since his accession was in Nisan, 597, his final year was 587/86. The history of Judah closes with the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. This siege began on the tenth day of the tenth month of Zedekiah's ninth year (II Kings 25:1; Jer. 39:1; 52:4), January 15,[106] 588. The next year, in the midst of the siege, Jeremiah was imprisoned, this being the tenth year of Zedekiah and synchronizing with the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar

[104] Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Albrecht Goetze, "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's Babylonian Chronology," *JNES*, III (1944), 43 ff.

[105] Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 26. All Julian dates hereafter to be given are based on the tables of Parker and Dubberstein.

(Jer. 32:1), 587. Famine prevailed, the city was broken, and the king fled the following year on the ninth day of the fourth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year (II Kings 25:2, 3; Jer. 39:2; 52:5–7), July 19, 586. On the seventh day of the fifth month began the final destruction of the city (II Kings 25:8–10), August 15, 586. This was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 25:8; Jer. 52:12). Gedaliah, who had been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar as governor of the land, was slain in the seventh month (II Kings 25:22–25; Jer. 41:1, 2). The month of Tishri began on October 7 in the year 586. Word of the fall of Jerusalem reached the captives in Babylon on the fifth day of the tenth month of the twelfth year of their captivity (Ezek. 33:21), January 8, 585.

Jehoiachin was eighteen years of age at the time of his accession and the beginning of his Babylonian captivity (II Kings 24:8) in 597. His lot during his earlier years in Babylon could not have been very severe, for a tablet dated in 592, listing payments of rations in oil, barley, etc., to captives and skilled workmen in and around Babylon includes the name of Yaukin, king of Judah, and five of his sons.[107] Later he must have been placed under more restricted custody, for after the death of Nebuchadnezzar he was released from prison by Amel-Marduk (II Kings 25:27–30; Jer. 52:31–34). The last dates for Nebuchadnezzar are VI/21/43 (October 2, 562) and VI/26/43 (October 7, 562), and the first dates for Amel-Marduk are VI/26/acc. (October 7, 562) and VII/19/acc. (October 30, 562).[108] The release of Jehoiachin occurred on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the thirty-seventh year of his captivity,[109] in the year that Amel-Marduk began to reign (II Kings 25:27), or March 21, 561. This was just before the first celebration of the New Year festivities on the part of the new king—a fitting time for the release of political prisoners.

The study of the chronological material of the Hebrew kings as recorded in the Massoretic text is now completed. Other chronological items besides those we have herein discussed, some of great historical and exegetical importance, are to be found in various books of the Old Testament. But these lie outside the main field we have marked out for our present discussion—the chronology of the period of the kings.

Whether or not the dates here provided are actually final and absolute will be determined by the tests of time. If they are final, they have nothing to fear from the most careful and exhaustive research—they will stand. If they are not final, and if indisputable evidence can prove them in error, they have no right to stand. Up to the present they have withstood every test that the writer has been able to bring upon them. Other tests await them. The kings of Israel and Judah have in the years gone by had part in many a fray. We have no reason to believe that their days of conflict are entirely over. Our only hope is that, when the smoke of the battle clears and the din of the final conflict has at last subsided, each of these valiant stalwarts of old may occupy his right, immovable place in history.

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[107] W. F. Albright, "King Joiachin in Exile," *Biblical Archaeologist*, V (1942), 49 ff.; Ernst F. Weidner, "Joiachin, Koenig von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), I, 923–35.

[108] Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Goetze, *op. cit.*

[109] It should be noted that according to the reckoning of Kings and Jeremiah the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity was from Tishri, 562, to Tishri, 561. But according to Ezekiel's method of reckoning the thirty-seventh year of the captivity would not begin until Nisan, 561.

APPENDIX

TABLE A

THE DATES OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

ISRAEL			JUDAH		
King	Years of Coregency or during the Reign of Another King	Reign	King	Coregency	Reign
Jeroboam I		931/30–910/9	Rehoboam		931/30–913
			Abijam		913 –911/10
Nadab		910/9 –909/8	Asa		911/10–870/69
Baasha		909/8 –886/85			
Elah		886/85–885/84			
Zimri		885/84			
Tibni		885/84–880			
Omri	885/84–880	880 –874/73			
Ahab		874/73–853	Jehoshaphat	873/72–870/69	870/69–848
Ahaziah		853 –852	Jehoram	853 –848	848 –841
Jehoram		852 –841	Ahaziah		841
Jehu		841 –814/13	Athaliah		841 –835
Jehoahaz		814/13–798	Joash		835 –796
Jehoash		798 –782/81	Amaziah		796 –767
Jeroboam II	793/92–782/81	782/81–753	Azariah	791/90–767	767 –740/39
Zachariah		753 –752			
Shallum		752			
Menahem		752 –742/41	Jotham	750 –740/39	740/39–736/35
Pekahiah		742/41–740/39			
Pekah	752 –740/39	740/39–732/31	Ahaz		736/35–716/15
Hoshea		732/31–723/22			
			Hezekiah		716/15–687/86
			Manasseh	696/95–687/86	687/86–642/41
			Amon		642/41–640/39
			Josiah		640/39–608
			Jehoahaz		608
			Jehoiakim		608 –597
			Jehoiachin		597
			Zedekiah		597 –586

The details available concerning the ages of the kings of Judah should work out into a consistent pattern of age relationships in any chronological scheme which is to be considered valid. Table B gives such details of the kings of Judah for the present chronological scheme as can be worked out from the available data.

TABLE B

AGES OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH

King	Father	Age at Accession as Coregent	Age at Beginning of Sole Reign	Age at Birth of Successor	Age at Association of Son as Coregent	Age at Death
Rehoboam	Solomon	.....	41	.....	.....	59
Abijam	Rehoboam	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Asa	Abijam	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Jehoshaphat	Asa	35	38	23	54	59
Jehoram	Jehoshaphat	32	37	23	.....	44
Ahaziah	Jehoram	.....	22 (42)	22	.....	22
Athaliah	Ahab	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Joash	Ahaziah	.....	7	22	.....	46
Amaziah	Joash	.....	25	16	31	54
Azariah	Amaziah	16	39	32	56	66
Jotham	Azariah	25	35	21	.....	39
Ahaz	Jotham	.....	20	15	.....	39
Hezekiah	Ahaz	.....	25	34	45	54
Manasseh	Hezekiah	12	21	45	.....	66
Amon	Manasseh	.....	22	17	.....	24
Josiah	Amon	.....	8	18 Jehoahaz 16 Jehoiakim 31 Zedekiah	.....	40
Jehoahaz	Josiah	.....	23	.....	.....	.....
Jehoiakim	Josiah	.....	25	19	.....	36
Jehoiachin	Jehoiakim	.....	18 (8)	.....	.....	.....
Zedekiah	Josiah	.....	21	.....	.....	.....

From the reconstructed chronology of the Hebrew kings it will be seen that coregencies entered quite prominently into the history of the Southern Kingdom, but that in the history of Israel only one was found. The only coregencies of which definite mention is made in the text are those of Jehoram with Jehoshaphat (II Kings 8:16) and Jotham with Azariah (II Kings 15:5), although before the schism the elevation of Solomon to the throne and the proclamation of his kingship at the express direction of the aged David is also mentioned (I Kings 1:32–39). Table C gives a summary of coregencies and overlapping years.

TABLE C

COREGENCIES AND RIVAL REIGNS IN JUDAH AND ISRAEL

	Years Recorded	Years of Coregency or Overlapping Reign
	Coregency Included in Total Years of Reign	
Judah:		
Jehoshaphat	25	4
Azariah	52	24
Jotham	16	12
Manasseh	55	10
Israel:		
Jeroboam II	41	12
	Coregency Not Included in Total Years of Reign	
Judah:		
Jehoram	8	6
	Recorded Reign Partially Overlapping Reign of Rival King	
Israel:		
Omri	12	6
	Recorded Reign Partially Overlapping That of the Previously Reigning House	
Israel:		
Pekah	20	12